

THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE SCOTTISH
TEACHING PROFESSION 1872-1914: WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHING

HELEN CORR

PH.D
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
1983



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed
by myself and that it is entirely my own work.

Helen Corr

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my warm thanks to my supervisors, Roger Davidson and Bob Morris - both of whom have provided immense encouragement and have devoted much of their valuable time towards discussing the issues and ideas raised in the thesis.

The research and writing of the thesis would not have been possible without financial assistance from the Department of Education, Northern Ireland between 1977 and 1980, and thereafter from my mother, Maureen Corr, and aunt, Kathleen Cummings.

Rosalind McClean has been an enormous help as an unpaid proof reader and along with the other postgraduates in the Economic History Department, she has provided a friendly atmosphere in which to discuss various views on our respective research topics.

I am also extremely indebted for the unflagging support and companionship which I have received from many friends throughout the duration of the thesis, in particular Peter Cameron, Maggie Corr, Cherry Kennett, Bill Knox, Donald MacKenzie, Sheila Marnie, Elspeth Moodie, Barbara Morris, Jenny Newman, and James Smyth.

The staff of the Edinburgh Room, Central Library, Edinburgh and Mrs. Mary Manchester, Baillie Library, Glasgow have provided the utmost co-operation in meeting the requirements of the research, far beyond the call of duty.

I owe a special thanks to Isabel Roberts who, in addition to typing the thesis, has been a constant source of support and cheerfulness; it has been a pleasure working with her.

ABSTRACT

The study investigates the historical development of the gender division of labour between elementary school teachers in Scotland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It examines the extent to which differences in teachers' pay, status and occupational positions in the profession were devised in accordance with gender.

It is argued that occupational roles between the sexes became more clearly defined and rigid during the late nineteenth century - as manifested through the training programme, content of the curriculum, and the types of academic subjects which women teachers were expected to teach in elementary schools.

Chapter one locates the study of gender relationships within a broader historiographical context. It highlights the limited attention which has been given to gender as a category of historical analysis in the writings of labour and educational historians on the white collar stratum.

Chapter two describes the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession and its implications for the development and reinforcement of occupational roles within key sectors of elementary schools. Particular attention centres on the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act since it represented a symbolic landmark in altering the balance of employment and recruitment of the sexes in the teaching labour market during that decade.

Chapter three establishes the degree and nature of pay inequality between the sexes in teaching. It argues that in spite of achieving identical professional qualifications, women could never expect to earn the same wage as men in Scotland before 1914. Particular emphasis is centred on the concept of marriage and the family wage as an ideological and social justification for sex discrimination in teachers' pay.

Chapter four unites the theme of feminisation and pay inequality by examining the perceptions of each gender on each of these issues within the largest Teachers' Association in Scotland - the Educational Institute of Scotland. It argues that the male leadership's preoccupation with professional ideals seriously hindered the achievement of more material goals such as higher remuneration and equal pay. From the perspective of an elite group of female members, it is argued that in order to establish a power base inside the Institute, a central Ladies Committee was formed with the purpose of representing the 'special interests of female teachers' but that their main function was the reproduction of sex specific roles inside the Educational Institute of Scotland.

Chapter five argues that a small and elite group of women used the forum of school boards to acquire power to influence and control aspects of the elementary school curriculum, for girls as well as the subjects taught exclusively by female teachers. It analyses the perceptions and motives of the female educationalists who wished to promote sex specific subjects for girls in elementary schools. It traces the analogies which were to be found between their involvement in the campaign to introduce domestic subjects for girls in schools with their broader participation in the 'Women's Movement' during the late nineteenth century. Finally, it assesses some implications of the domestic education campaign for the development of gender roles within the teaching profession in the twentieth century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
1	INTRODUCTION	1
	Origins of Study	1
	The Social and Economic Context	9
	Some Problems of Historical Research and Methodology	20
	Historical Background	35
2	FEMINISATION OF THE SCOTTISH TEACHING PROFESSION	53
	The Transitional Years	53
	The Impact of Feminisation on the Scottish Teaching Profession 1883-1905	66
	The New Regulations for the Training of Teachers 1905-1914	77
3	SEX DIFFERENTIALS IN TEACHERS' PAY: 1872-1914	86
	Pay Inequality between the Sexes in Teaching: 1872-1914	90
	The Role of Employers and Sex Differentials in Teachers' Pay 1872-1914	108
	Employers' and Policy Makers' Attitudes to Sex Discrimination in Teachers' Pay	123
4	THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCOTLAND 1872-1914: COHESION AND DIVISION BETWEEN THE SEXES	139
	Recruitment of Female Teachers into the EIS: 1874-1900	144
	Formation of a Ladies' Committee 1900-1914: Issues and Influence inside the EIS	154
	Professional Goals and Status of Teachers in the EIS: 1847-1914	169
	Equal Pay or Not? Opinions of the Rank and File Inside Scottish Teachers Association 1912-1914.	182
5	THE SCHOOLGIRL'S CURRICULUM AND THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN THE SCOTTISH TEACHING PROFESSION	199
	The Role of Female Voluntary Organisations and Domestic Economy for Girls 1873-1900	202
	The Institutionalisation of Domestic Education Within the Elementary Schoolgirl's Curriculum 1900-1914	220
	Motives and Some Implications of the Domestic Education Campaign on Gender Divisions of Labour within the Scottish Teaching Profession	235
6	CONCLUSION	259
	APPENDIX I	268
	ABBREVIATIONS	269
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	270

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Section one: Origins of Study

My study of gender relationships in the Scottish teaching profession was generated by an embryonic awareness of the limited attention given to gender as a category of historical analysis.¹ Very little empirical research has been devoted to a study of the dynamic process in which divisions of labour within white collar jobs were socially constructed and developed in accordance with gender.²

There are major historiographical reasons as to why this important area of research has previously been neglected by historians. One fundamental factor relates to the overwhelming bias in the existing literature to the activities of working class men in history.³ Occupations, skills, wages, employment and production are discussed consciously or unconsciously

-
1. For a scholarly and analytical statement on the reasons why greater attention should be placed on gender as a means of placing women in mainstream history, see especially E. Fox Genovese, 'Placing Women's History in History', New Left Review, No.134, July and August 1982, pp.5-19.
 2. This point applies to Scotland in particular. For example, no studies yet exist on the historical development of gender divisions in clerical occupations in Scotland during the nineteenth century which would act as a counterpart to Gregory Anderson's recent book, Victorian Clerks (Manchester University Press, 1976).
 3. Among many see H. Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (Penguin, 1963); D.H. Cole, Short History of the British Working Class Movement (London, 1927; hereafter place of publication will refer to London unless stated otherwise); S. and B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism (1894); A.E. Musson, British Trade Unions 1800-1875 (Economic History Society Series, Macmillan 1972); K.D. Brown, Labour and Unemployment 1900-1914 (Newton Abbot, 1971); E. Wigham, Strikes and the Government 1893-1974 (1976).

as if they were the almost exclusive prerogative of men.¹ This point is poignantly illustrated by referring to various historians' interpretations of the British labour movement during the nineteenth century.² Many labour historians have chiefly concentrated on trade union activities, strikes, and various forms of organised protests involving male workers in the industrial labour force; and have ignored or marginalised women's work in the labour market and domestic forms of labour performed in the home.³ This is a crude reflection of the overwhelming attention paid to the workplace as the centre of militancy rather than non-industrial forms of protests which were generated outside of the workplace.⁴

1. See for example, F.E. Gillespie, Labour and Politics in England 1850-67 (Durham WC 1927); G.E. Mingay (ed.), Law, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution (1967); J.L. and B. Hammond, The Skilled Labourer 1760-1832 (1919).
2. See for example, G.R. Askwith, Industrial Problems and Disputes (1920); K.G.J.C. Knowles, Strikes (Oxford 1952); H.W. McCready, 'British Labour and the Royal Commission on Trade Unions 1867-69', University of Toronto Quarterly, XXIV (1955); J. Hinton, The First Shop Stewards Movement (1973); E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (1968).
3. For an excellent analysis of the approach and perceptions adopted by many labour historians towards the role of women in the labour movement in Scotland see E. Gordon, 'Women, Trade Unions and Industrial Militancy 1850-1890', in the Glasgow Women's Studies Group (eds.), Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1892, (Glasgow 1983), pp.52-73.
4. The Glasgow Rent Strikes of 1915 provides a worthy illustration of organised working class protests, which took place outside of the workplace and were inspired by the actions of housewives. For further information see, J. Melling, Rent Strikes and Working Class Politics: Housing Struggles and the Origins of Independent Labour in West Scotland 1890-1916 (forthcoming publication, Polygon Books, Edinburgh 1983). It contains an introduction by H. Corr on the links which were forged between housewives and female activists in the women's movement on the one hand and with shop stewards and engineering workers on the Clyde on the other, during 1915.

(1983)

Recently, many female historians, in particular, have attempted to redress this huge imbalance in the existing literature.¹ This has involved a fundamental redefinition of the value and status of the personal and work experiences of working class women in the home as well as in paid employment.² A review of the secondary literature since the 1960s would suggest that the major objective of many historical studies was to discover facts about the lives and experiences of working class women in childbirth, marriage, housewifery, trade union activities, prostitution and sweated industries.³ However, in an overriding

1. See especially S. Rowbotham's influential book, Hidden from History (Pluto Press 1973); T. McBride, The Domestic Revolution. The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France: 1820-1920 (New York, 1976); L. Davidoff, The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season (1973); E. Hall, 'The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology' in S. Burman (ed.), Fit Work for Women (1979), pp.9-15; M. Hewitt, Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry (1958); J. O'Faolain and L. Martines, Not in God's Image (1973); M. Vicinus (ed.) Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age (Indiana U.P., 1972); D. Thompson, The Early Chartists (1971); W. Neff, Victorian Working Women (1966).
2. See for example, L. Davidoff, 'Mastered For Life: Servant, Wife & Mother in Victorian England', Journal of Social History, Summer 1974, pp.406-28; P. Horn, The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant (New York, St. Martin's Press 1975); J. Mitchell, Women's Estate (New York, Random House, 1973); J. Mitchell and A. Oakley (eds.), The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Penguin, 1976); see especially the introduction, pp.7-17; J. Gadel Kelly, 'The Social Relation of the Sexes' Methodological Implications of Women's History', No.4.1 Signs Summer 1976, pp.809-823; H. Hartman, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex' No.3.1 Signs, Pt.2 1976, pp.137-69; L. Stone, The Family Sex and Marriage 1500-1800 (1977); L. Tilly and J. Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York, 1978); P. Branca, Silent Sisterhood (Carnegie Mellon U.P., 1975); R. Rowbotham, Women's Consciousness, Man's World, (Pelican Books, 1973); R. Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution (New York, Random House, 1974); M.M. MacKintosh, 'Domestic Labour and the Household' in S. Burman (ed.) op.cit., pp.192-196.
3. Amongst the many valuable studies which have been produced on women's work, see I. Pinchbeck, Women Workers in the Industrial Revolution: 1750-1850 (Frank Cass, 1969); T. Dublin, Women at Work (New York, 1980); A. Oakley, The Sociology of Housework (New York, Pantheon Books, 1974); A. Oakley, Women's Work: The Housewife, Past and Present (New York, Pantheon Books, 1974); H. Mitchell, The Hard Way Up (1968); B. Drake, Women in Trade Unions (1921); M. Llewellyn Davis, Life As We Have Known it, Co-operative Working Women, first published by Hogarth Press 1931, reprinted Virago, 1977; Stedman Jones, Outcast London (Oxford U.P., 1971); B. Taylor, 'Women Workers and the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union' (unpublished paper, 1974); S. Alexander, 'Women's Work in Nineteenth Century London, 1820-1850' in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley (eds.) op.cit., pp.17-59; J.R. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society. Women, Class and the State (Cambridge and New York, 1980).

bid to place women in history comparatively little attention has been directed towards analysing gender relationships, as distinct from women's experiences.¹

Moreover, within the existing literature on 'Women's History', even less attention has been focused on the social construction of gender divisions within white collar occupations such as school teaching and clerical work.² The bulk of secondary sources on women's education have centred on the educational achievements of well-known pioneers, such as Frances Buss, Dorothea Beale, and Emily Davis and their lives have for many years been examined in detailed biographies.³ Likewise, the rise of public day schools for girls have been narrated chiefly within an institutional framework.⁴

1. It should be stated however, that many of the individual works cited above are exceptions and many of these authors have analysed gender divisions in paid employment and in the home (for example, see S. Alexander, op.cit.; A. Oakley, op.cit.).
2. L. Holcombe's book, Victorian Ladies At Work (Newton Abbot 1973) provides a good example of approaching the growth of white collar jobs for women from the angle of women's experiences as distinct from analysing gender relationships within clerical occupations and in the teaching profession.
3. See J. Kamm, Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (1965); J. Kamm, How Different From Us: A Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale (1958); E. Davis, Home and Education of Women (1878); A. Clough, A Memoir of Anne Jamima Clough (1897); A.E. Ridley, Frances Mary Buss (1895); E. Rankes, Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham (1908); C.B. Firth, Constance Louisa Maynard (1949); S.A. Burstall, Retrospect and Prospect: Sixty Years of Womens Education (1933).
4. Among the Institutional histories of girls schools are A.K. Clarke, A History of the Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1953 (1953); L. Magnus, The Jubilee Book of the Girls' Public Day School Trust: 1873-1923 (1923); R.G. Grylls, Queens College: 1848-1948 (1948); M.J. Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937 (1939).

This has been at the expense of examining the fortunes of the mass of teachers who made up the teaching profession.

More recently in England however, this imbalance in approach has to some extent been redressed.¹ Pamela and Harold Silver have analysed the differing salaries and work structures for men and women teachers.² They show how a separate curricula developed for girls and boys in two schools in Kennington. Frances Widdowson³ has undertaken an analytical study of the social mobility of girls attending Whitelands teacher training college between 1840 and 1900. Lorna Duffin has highlighted the close links which existed between the domestic labour performed by women in the home on the one hand, and the domestic content of the curriculum taught by female teachers, on the other.⁴

However, in Scotland, no parallel studies yet exist on the social construction and development of gender divisions between school teachers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

1. For a scholarly review of the secondary literature on women's education and discussion of how this subject has been approached by various authors, see J.W. Burstyn, 'Women's Education in England during the Late Nineteenth Century: A Review of the Literature 1970-1976', in History of Education No.1, Vol.6, 1977, pp.11-19; see also J.W. Burstyn, 'Religious Arguments Against the Higher Education 1840-1890', Womens Studies No.1 (1), 1972, pp.111-31.
2. H. and P. Silver, The Education of the Poor (1974).
3. F. Widdowson, Going Up to the Next Class: Women and Elementary Teacher Training 1840-1914 (1980); see especially, pp.21-29.
4. See L. Duffin, 'Prisoners for Progress: Women and Education' in S. Delemont and L. Duffin (eds.), The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World (1978), c.3, pp.57-89.

Hence, the neglect of this important area of research offers new and major opportunity to examine the dynamic construction of gender divisions of labour between elementary school teachers in Scotland. In doing so, it is hoped that the current study will make a pioneering contribution towards filling the existing gap in historical scholarship.

In accordance with this aim, the thesis will investigate how the active development of gender roles within key occupational sectors of elementary schools was profoundly affected by the introduction of the Education (Scotland) Act in 1872.¹ It will be argued that the 1872 Act was instrumental in producing dramatic shifts in the employment and economic functions of each sex in the teaching labour market and that it led to the ever-increasing separation of certain occupational divisions which were demarcated along the lines of gender during the late nineteenth century.²

This line of inquiry is pursued in a variety of ways; chapter two will investigate how the process of gender differentiation between teachers developed and became institutionalised within certain sectors of elementary schools.³ Chapter three will examine sex differentials in teachers' pay and the relationship between pay and skill between the genders.⁴ Chapter four will examine how gender

1. See chapter two, section one, pp. 53-4.

2. See chapter two, section one pp.62-5.

3. Ibid.

4. See in particular, chapter three, sections one and two, pp.86-122.

differentiation permeated the activities undertaken by male and female members within the organisational structure of the EIS.¹ Chapter five will focus on the perceptions of an elite group of female teachers towards gender divisions between teachers and the content of the curriculum.²

The major impetus for focusing on school teachers was based on the knowledge that there was a large participation of both sexes in the profession and this acted as a good starting point for analysing the forms of interaction between the sexes within a white collar occupational structure. The empirical basis for the study derived from the discovery that there was a dramatic change in the employment pattern of the sexes in the Scottish teaching profession. This was manifested by the fact that while in the 1850s the profession was numerically dominated by men, by 1911 it was overwhelmingly comprised of women. A more precise indicator of the fundamental shift in the recruitment of each sex into teaching is revealed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Percentage Change in the Employment of School Teachers in 1851 and 1911.

	1851	1911
Male teachers	65.0	30.0
Female teachers	35.0	70.0

Sources: Parliamentary Papers (Subsequent refs: PP) 1852/53
 Cmd. 1691 Vol. CCLXXI Reports of the Census of Great Britain.
PP 1912/13 Cmd. 7163 Vol. CXIX Report of the Twelfth
 Decennial Census of Scotland, 1911.

-
1. See chapter four, section two, pp.154-68.
 2. See chapter five, section three, pp.235-58.

The changing composition in the employment pattern of each sex within the teaching labour market represented a unique and distinctive feature of the Scottish educational system. Elsewhere in Britain, female teachers already outnumbered their male counterparts by the 1850s, and males continued to remain a minority group.¹ Chapter two will document the various stages in the ~~ministration~~ of teaching,² and particular attention will be focused on the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act which represented an important landmark in altering the balance in the recruitment and employment of the sexes in teaching during the 1870s. In the meantime, the remainder of this section will be chiefly concerned with placing the accelerated influx of females into the Scottish teaching profession within a broader historical context. The major reason for doing so is that there were many changes taking place in late Victorian Britain which may provide a more general understanding concerning the underlying reasons why females chose to enter into the teaching profession in large numbers. Likewise, a survey of other white collar job opportunities for each gender may go some way towards explaining why there was a relatively low rate of male recruitment in the teaching profession during the late nineteenth century.

1. For further information on school teachers in England see especially A. Tropp, The School Teachers: The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales (1957); P.H. Goshen, The Evolution of a Profession: A Study of the Contributions of Teachers' Associations to the Development of School Teaching as a Professional Occupation (Oxford 1972).
2. The term 'feminisation' is used in this context to describe the sharp acceleration in the number of females entering into teaching during the late nineteenth century that occurred without a corresponding increase in the number of men. This process resulted in the numerical domination of women teachers in the profession.

The Social and Economic Context

The changes in white collar job opportunities for both sexes were of a political, economic, and social nature. At a political level, they included campaigns spearheaded by activists in the 'Women's Movement' for the improvement of the status of females in the sphere of politics, education, and the law.¹ Secondly, within social and intellectual circles, there was a definite shift in favour of the concept of professional paid employment for unmarried independent females from the middle classes. Thirdly, within the economic realm, there were significant developments in key areas of the services sector of the economy which produced an unprecedented demand for the services of males, and to a lesser extent, female white collar employees. Each of these points requires some further explanation.

1. They included the political struggle for the vote for women. For further information on the suffrage movement, see S. Pankhurst, The Suffragette Movement (1931); D. Morgan, Suffragists and Liberals: The Politics of Women's Suffrage in Britain (Oxford 1975); R.S. Neale, Working Class Women and Women's Suffrage in Class Ideology (1972); R. Raeburn, Militant Suffragettes (1973); R. Constance, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics (1973). This period also witnessed various campaigns for changes in women's legal status in Divorce and Married Women's Property. For further information see, O.R. McGregor, Divorce in England: A Centenary Study (printed by Morrison and Gibb Limited 1957); J.S. Mill, The Subjection of Women (first printed 1869; reprinted Oxford 1966); J. and O. Banks, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England (New York, 1964); K. Millet, Sexual Politics (Virago 1979), see especially c.2, Historical Background, pp.23-61; W.R. Greg, Why are Women Redundant? (Boston 1873); K. O'Donovan, 'The Male Appendix - Legal Definitions of Women' in S. Burman (ed.), op.cit., pp.112-134.

Within the realm of education, there were effective campaigns headed by a small group of female campaigners who were dedicated towards achieving medical and university education for women. In Scotland, this campaign was energetically led by Elizabeth Garrett and Sophia Jex Blake. They secured their first major victory in 1869, when females were permitted for the first time to matriculate and attend classes in medicine at Edinburgh University.¹ In addition, there were other pressure groups such as the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association (ELEA) which had been founded in 1867 with the express task of securing female entry and graduation at each of the Scottish Universities. This victory was finally achieved in 1892. Thereafter, there were strong links between female graduates and the teaching profession. According to Sheila Hamilton's research, the majority of female graduates subsequently acquired a job in the teaching profession in Scotland.²

-
1. For further information on women's struggle to obtain entry into the Scottish Universities see S. Hamilton, 'Interviewing the Middle Class: Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities 1910-1935' in Oral History, Vol.10, No.2, Autumn 1982, pp.58-67; S. Hamilton, 'The First Generation of University Women 1869-1930', in E.G. Donaldson (ed.), Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life 1583-1983 (forthcoming Edinburgh UP, 1983). S. Hamilton is currently completing a doctoral dissertation on women at the Scottish Universities 1867-1935 (University of Edinburgh).
 2. S. Hamilton, op.cit., pp.1-9.

Many women who were involved in a network of educational campaigns were also closely connected with intellectual and debating organisations such as the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences (NAPSS).¹ This Association acted as an effective springboard for ladies and men throughout Britain, to hold discussions on a range of current political, economic and social topics. It was within this context, that the subject of paid female employment in the teaching profession was hotly debated from the 1860s onwards.

Specific discussion centred on the question of whether girls from middle class backgrounds should be educated in order to earn an independent income in professional employment. The argument propounded in favour of girls earning a professional income was based on the widespread conviction that there was a surplus of women in Britain and a subsequent scarcity existed in the number of male marriage partners. Thus, it was argued that girls from middle class backgrounds had the lowest chances of marriage because of the tendency of professional men to marry later and to emigrate to the colonies in greater numbers than their female counterparts.² The education of girls was seen as the

-
1. Full title is Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences. The records of the NAPSS are located in the Edinburgh University Library (subsequent refs. EUL).
 2. G. Beatt, Mid Victorian Britain 1851-75 (1971), especially c.2, The Making of Livings, pp.73-110.

starting point for preparing them for their future careers in professional employment. According to Mary Carpenter, a speaker at the London conference of the NAPSS in 1862, the education of the female sex:

... is one of the most important problems of the present day ... when female emigration is pointed to on the one hand, as the only means of relieving society of an enormous and unprofitable surplus of female labour, and on the other, we are warned that untrained and helpless women are as little wanted at the Antipodes as here. It is especially evident that any woman in order to do their [sic] true life's work in any station must be educated.

A related discussion within educational and intellectual circles, concerned the question of the 'female intellect'. Perhaps the most powerful and influential document on this subject was contained in the publication of the Taunton's Commission Report 1868. The specific question to which the commissioners addressed themselves was:² Do girls have similar intellectual capabilities as boys and should the educational training of the sexes be the same?³ Taunton came to the conclusion that, '... the essential capacity for learning is the same or nearly the same in the two sexes'.⁴

-
1. M. Carpenter, 'On the Education of Pauper Children'; paper read at the Proceedings of the NAPSS (London 1862), pp.287-92.
 2. PP 1867/68 Cmd.3966, Vol.XXVIII Part 1, Report of the Taunton Royal Commission Inquiry. See especially c.VI, Girls Schools, pp.546-66.
 3. Undoubtedly, many of the assumptions expressed in George Elliot's Middlemarch (Norton Critical edition ed. New York 1977) on 'Women's Intelligence' would still have been prevalent within male intellectual circles during the 1860s. For further discussion of the debate on the 'female intellect' amongst contemporaries, see especially, L.E. Becker, 'Is there any specific distinction between male and female intellect?', The Englishwomen's Review 8, (1868).
 4. Ibid, p.552.

In reaching this conclusion, Taunton echoed his strong support in favour of girl's education and the professional training of female teachers for this purpose.

It was within this intellectual and social climate that teaching became increasingly perceived as a suitable and genteel occupation for independent girls, thus indicating that there is a social explanation underpinning the dynamic influx of females into teaching during the 1870s. Nonetheless, the scale of female recruitment into teaching was also largely determined by the choice and availability of other and possibly more lucrative white collar jobs for each sex in the labour market.

During the late Victorian period there was a massive growth and expansion of the services sector which is in part due to the substantial diversification of the British economy in banking and international trading with her colonies.¹ The development of the services sector led to a huge expansion of the clerical work force in transport, the post office, banking, insurance, and commerce.² Thus it is in the broader historical context of an expanding white collar labour force, within Britain, that the scale of recruitment of each gender into teaching must be located during the late nineteenth century.³

1. See E. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (Penguin, 1968), especially c.7, Britain in the World Economy, pp.134-154.

2. See G. Anderson, op.cit., pp.1-2.

3. For information on the problems of defining white collar workers in Britain see G. Crossick (ed.), The Lower Middle Class in Britain, (1977) especially the introduction; pp.11-61. Also 'Modern Economic Growth and Structural Change in Scotland: The Service Sector Reconsidered' in T.M. Devine and T.C. Smout (eds.), Scottish Economic and Social History Journal, Vol.3, No.3, 1983, pp.5-36.

With the aid of the Scottish occupational census, it is possible to identify and compare the approximate scale of recruitment within two of the largest sources of white collar employment - clerical work in public administration and school teaching.¹ Table 1.2 charts the dynamic shifts in the employment pattern of both sexes in each of these occupations between 1851 and 1911.²

Table 1.2. Percentage Number of Female and Male School teachers in Scotland: 1851-1911.

Year	Females	Males	Total Number	Female % of the Total Number
1851	3,251	6,074	9,325	35.00
1861	-	-	-	-
1871	5,977	6,215	12,192	49.00
1881	7,974	5,515	13,489	59.01
1891	12,965	7,144	20,109	64.47
1901	17,374	8,040	25,414	68.36
1911	18,778	8,010	26,788	70.00

Sources: PP 1852/53, Cmd.1691 Vol.CCLXXI, Reports of the Census of Great Britain PP 1912/13 Cmd.7163, Vol.CXIX, Reports of the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland 1911.

The figures in Table 1.2 do not include those in the occupational category of teaching labelled as 'others in school service' since their precise job descriptions were not clearly designated.

-
1. It should be stressed that it is very difficult to be wholly accurate in stating the precise numbers of white collar workers, using the occupational census. This is chiefly because of changes in the occupational classification in different censuses between 1841 and 1914. For example, in the census of 1861, the occupational category of school teachers includes governesses along with school mistresses and hence it is virtually impossible to acquire a precise knowledge of the number of female teachers who taught in Scottish schools. However, in spite of the shortcomings of census material, it is extremely useful in obtaining information on employment trends over a long time-span.
 2. In the context of this particular study, clerks are defined beneath the capital owning classes, namely as those who were involved in public administration. Likewise, school teachers are seen as a distinct and separate occupational group from those employed in the established legal and medical professions.

Table 1.3. Percentage Number of Female and Male Clerks in Scotland, 1851-1911.¹

Year	Females	Males	Total Number	Female % of the Total Number
1851	359	10,645	11,003	3.62
1861	-	-	-	-
1871	635	19,852	20,487	3.09
1881	1,455	25,204	26,659	5.45
1891	6,025	48,420	54,445	13.26
1901	16,436	51,175	67,611	24.30
1911	32,892	62,833	95,725	34.43

Sources: PP 1852/53, Cmnd.1691, Vol.CCLXXI, Reports of the Census of Great Britain; PP 1912/13 Cmnd.7163, Vol.CXIX, Reports of the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland 1911.

It can be seen that in comparison with female school teachers, the number of female clerks sharply accelerated within a relatively short time-span during the first decade of the twentieth century. By 1911, clerical jobs formed the largest single form of white collar employment for girls in Scotland - numbering almost 33,000 and teaching was a poor second choice. The predominant sectors in which female clerks were employed was in the Post Office, as sorters, telegraphists and typists. A comprehensive study of clerical occupations remains to be undertaken in Scotland and it should then be possible to compare differences between clerks and school teachers as regards entry qualifications, social mobility, wages and promotional opportunities in the respective job hierarchies.²

-
1. The occupational classification of male and female clerks according to the 1911 census comprised the following categories: business clerks, law clerks, bank officials, railway officials, insurance clerks and Post Office clerks.
 2. For further information on clerical occupations see D. Lockwood, The Blackcoated Worker (1958); also H. Martindale, Women Servants of the State - 1870-1938: A History of Women in the Civil Service (1938).

However, the existing evidence in Table 1.3 clearly reveals that a substantially larger number of males decided to enter into clerical jobs in preference to a career in teaching. In the following chapter, it will be argued that there was increasing anxiety within educational circles regarding the scarcity of male entrants into teaching during the early 1890s. In comparing the number of male clerks with that of school masters (48,420 and 7,144 respectively) for this period, there is sufficient statistical evidence to confirm that the fears of male educationalists were well-founded.

A preliminary investigation of the English occupational census reveals that there were some distinctive and contrasting features in the employment pattern of clerks and teachers in Scotland. To illustrate this point, Tables 1.4 and 1.5 chart the growth of both groups in England and Wales between 1851 and 1911.

Table 1.4. Percentage Number of Female and Male School Teachers in England and Wales, 1851-1911.

Year	Females	Males	Total Number	Female % of Total Number
1851	46,851	26,971	74,822	62.6
1861	79,980	30,280	110,260	72.5
1871	94,029	32,901	126,930	74.1
1881	122,846	46,074	168,920	72.8
1891	144,393	50,628	194,021	74.1
1901	171,160	58,675	230,345	74.5
1911	183,298	68,670	251,968	72.8

Source: L. Holcombe, Victorian Ladies at Work, Appendix Table 1a, p.203.

Table 1.5. Number of Female and Male Clerks in England and Wales, 1861-1911.

Year	Females	Males	Total Number	Female % of Total Number
1861	279	91,733	92,012	0.3
1871	1,446	129,271	130,717	1.1
1881	6,420	229,405	236,125	2.7
1891	18,947	351,486	370,433	5.1
1901	57,736	461,164	518,900	11.1
1911	124,843	561,155	685,998	18.1

Source: L. Holcombe, Victorian Ladies at Work, Appendix Table 4a, p.210.

Table 1.4 confirms that a major difference between Scotland and England was that the English teaching profession was already feminised by the 1850s and male teachers continued to remain in a small minority. Moreover, according to Lee Holcombe's findings in Table 1.5, another distinctive feature of the English white collar labour market was that female teachers outnumbered female clerks in 1911, which would mean that teachers constituted the largest occupational group in the white collar stratum. However, Holcombe's findings must be treated with a certain amount of caution since they are contradictory with Gregory Anderson's evidence; using the occupational census Anderson states that there was a total of

177,057 female commercial clerks alone in England in 1911 and a further 22,034 female clerks employed chiefly in civil service posts such as the Post Office.¹

Nonetheless, what is clear from each of these sources is that the employment trend of male white collar employees in clerical occupations was remarkably similar in both countries. Furthermore, Anderson's research on clerks in the cities of Liverpool and Manchester strongly indicates that the range and types of jobs were much more diverse for males and that certain key jobs in banking, insurance, law, commerce, and railways were excluded from women.² In accordance with this view, Anderson argues that a separate division of labour along gender lines developed within the clerical hierarchy, with women fulfilling:

... an essentially different function within the office than men. Their employment was associated with the increased division of clerical labour and the introduction of new office skills, shorthand and typing ... In this respect, they could be seen as undercutting each other, more than they competed with men.³

If Anderson's analysis is correct, it could also be argued that although white collar jobs were expanding during the late nineteenth century, the choice and types of jobs were more limited for women in comparison with males. Moreover, other forms of white collar

-
1. G. Anderson, 'The Social Economy of Late Victorian Clerks' in G. Crossick, (ed.), op.cit., p.127.
 2. G. Anderson, op.cit., pp.52-53.
 3. G. Anderson, op.cit.

employment for females such as nursing and librarianship, were developing at a slower pace during this period. In the nursing profession for example, there were approximately 1,543 registered female nurses in Scotland in 1851 and by 1911 their number had climbed to 10,000.¹ Accordingly, employers, as will be seen in chapter two,² were placed in the advantageous position of being frequently presented with a surplus of hopeful female candidates who vigorously competed against one another for remunerative employment in white collar jobs such as teaching. Correspondingly, since it would appear that the choice of white collar jobs was much more wide-ranging for men, this may be one crucial factor to explain their comparatively low rate of recruitment into teaching during the late 19th century. Hence, it is within the context of more limited economic and job opportunities for female white collar employees that the recruitment of each gender into teaching during the late nineteenth century must be located.

Having presented a general outline of the changing characteristics of the white collar labour market in Britain, section two will specify the types of methodological difficulties involved in undertaking a historical study of gender relationships between school teachers in Scotland.

1. PP 1852/3 Cmd.1691 Vol. CCLXXI Reports of the Census of Great Britain 1851.
PP 1912/13 Cmd.7163 Vol. CXIX Report of the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland, 1911.
2. Chapter two, section one, p.58.

Section two: Some Problems of Historical Research and Methodology.

Some general remarks should be made at the outset concerning the nature of the source material used in this thesis. The bulk of the primary sources are official and they are used extensively in the discussion of feminisation and sex differentials in teachers' pay in chapters two and three.¹ They include the use of Parliamentary Papers; Select Committee Reports; School Board Records; Reports of the Presbyterian Churches; Occupational Census material and Inspectorate Reports.

Sources of a less official nature are to be found in the latter part of the thesis. They chiefly consist of the Annual Reports of the Educational Institute of Scotland during the period 1873-1914; Minute Books of the Scottish Class Teachers Association (SCTA) and the Reports of some local branches of both teachers associations. Furthermore, each Association published its own newspaper - the Educational News² (organ of the EIS) and The Class Teachers' Pamphlet.³ With the aid of these newspapers, a valuable insight into the views held amongst the rank-and-file membership on

1. Specific methodological problems arising from individual sources are discussed in the respective chapters. For example, the shortcomings of using school board reports are discussed in chapter three, section two, pp.108-15.
2. The Educational News is located in the NLS.
3. The Class Teachers' Pamphlet is located in the Scottish Records Office (subsequently referred to as SRO).

inter-related issues such as pay and promotion can be obtained.

The final chapter of the thesis encompasses a number of primary sources, including the records of the respective voluntary cookery schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh. These are used in conjunction with newspaper cuttings to describe the growth and influence of these organisations in Scotland during the late nineteenth century. Oral evidence provides an additional insight into the way the instruction of domestic subjects was viewed by individual teachers shortly before the outbreak of the First World War.

However, in spite of the range of primary source material, there still exists major gaps and omissions in the historical records on school teachers during the period under scrutiny. As a consequence, during the course of researching on this topic, a series of methodological problems surfaced which had to be confronted. A major difficulty related to the non-preservation of historical records, many of which have been destroyed whilst others are missing. For example, important areas of investigation such as the class background of teachers could not be undertaken because virtually all of the documents containing information on the parental occupations of students attending the Presbyterian teacher training colleges had been destroyed by fire. Hence, the proposed examination of the relationship between education and social mobility of each gender at the training colleges was no longer considered feasible.

Nonetheless, a more complex problem relates to the difficulty of building an adequate picture through the available source material on gender relationships in teaching. A disproportionate amount of source material exists on the role of men in the teaching profession and it is extremely difficult to discover details of women's contribution both as students and teachers in elementary education. A fundamental reason for the paucity of sources on women is due to the fact that policy making processes relating to decisions on the Scottish educational system have been overwhelmingly constructed and recorded from the perspective of male officials, intellectuals, and politicians. As will be seen in the final section of this chapter, it was men who shaped, developed, and controlled policy making decisions affecting every aspect of Scottish education.¹ Not surprisingly, therefore, historical sources on a range of educational issues: legislation, and policy making decisions are strongly biased in favour of documenting the responses of prominent male officials within the educational system.²

A similar point applies to the interpretation and bias among male authors in the secondary literature on Scottish education. Well known authors such as A. Morgan, H.M. Knox, A. Boyd, A. Bain, J. Kerr, T. Buchanman, J. Strong and J. Clarke,³ have predominantly

-
1. See this chapter, section three, pp. 35-43.
 2. Gillian Sutherland's detailed research on the English Educational system would further support this point. Sutherland convincingly demonstrates that the structure of elementary education was designed by men, that men alone, for many years during the late nineteenth century inspected English schools and the management of teacher training colleges. See G. Sutherland, Policy Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895 (Oxford 1973).
 3. A. Morgan, Makers of Scottish Education (Longman & Greens, 1929); H.M. Knox, Two Hundred Years of Scottish Education (Edinburgh, 1953); W. Boyd, Education in Ayrshire Through Seven Centuries (1961); J. Kerr, Scottish Education (Cambridge University Press, 1910); J. Clarke (ed.), Problems of National Education (1919); A. Bain, Education in Stirlingshire from the Reformation to the Act of 1872 (Univ. of London Press, 1965); R. Buchanman, The Schoolmaster in the Wynds or How to Educate the Masses (Glasgow, 1850); J. Strong, History of Secondary Education in Scotland (OUP, 1909).

focused on the various activities of men within the teaching profession and in the Scottish educational structure, but little consideration has been given to the historical development of gender divisions between school teachers. Even where women teachers are mentioned in monographs such as James Scotland's two volumes, The History of Scottish Education,¹ it is noticeable that only a few pages are designated to women teachers rather than being more fully integrated into the text in a comparative way with their male counterparts.²

One major consequence of this large imbalance in sources, is that enormous difficulty was experienced in acquiring statistical data on women teachers in order that a useful and meaningful comparison could be made with males of the same occupational grade. Fortunately, however, women were defined as a separate occupational group in the annual reports of the educational commissioners and churchmen (although many relevant statistics on school teachers have not been differentiated along the lines of gender)³ and hence, statistical information could be collected on their growth in numbers in the profession. Correspondingly, with the aid of these

 1. J. Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, Vols. 1 and 2, see especially, pp.100-106. (1969)

2. Ibid.

3. For example, the statistics on the ratio of pupil teachers were not differentiated according to gender in the annual Parliamentary Reports on school teachers.

statistics, a comparative analysis of the occupational position of each gender within the educational hierarchy will be presented in chapter two of the thesis.¹

A different dimension of this discussion on sources relates to the underlying significance of using official documents. The importance of using official publications is that they can provide illuminating insights into the beliefs of prominent educational figures and elite groups in a variety of religious and educational organisations.² In the context of this study, official sources can provide meaningful insights into the way in which ideological beliefs on gender roles in key occupational sectors of elementary schools were transmitted and disseminated among the rank and file of the teaching profession.

Thus, with the aid of primary records of Presbyterian church officials and educational commissioners, chapter two will focus on the dynamic shifts in the ideological attitudes of churchmen and male policy makers towards the entry and occupational roles undertaken by female teachers in elementary schools.³ The utilisation of school board reports and Privy Council of Education Annual Reports, should help to unravel the dominant attitudes amongst

1. See chapter two, section two, pp. 59-62.
2. For further discussion of this point see G. Grace, Teachers Ideology and Control (Routledge & Paul, 1978), especially pp.1-9.
3. Chapter two, section one, pp. 59-62.

employers and male educational officials, on the subject of pay differentials between the sexes in chapter three.¹ Archive sources on the Educational Institute of Scotland should enable an examination of how the issue of equal pay was perceived by an elite group of female teachers who rose to prominence in the Institute.² It will also analyse their motives and the complexity of reasons for their encouragement of sex specific activities in the Institute. The deployment of sources on the voluntary schools of cookery and the school board minutes should help to explain why a group of well educated ladies on school boards were in favour of introducing domestic subjects for girls during school hours.³

With the aid of official publications therefore, a valuable insight into the views of prominent individuals and elite groups within the teaching profession can be gained. Unfortunately, however, it is extremely difficult to discover documents which would reveal information on the diversity of attitudes amongst the vast majority of teachers who made up the teaching profession. This is largely because their lives and experiences have remained unrecorded in the educational literature of the period. Correspondingly,

1. Chapter three, section three, pp. 123-38.
2. Chapter four, section two, pp. 165-67.
3. Chapter five, section three, pp. 235-58.

it is virtually impossible to build up an accurate picture of the precise economic and social relationship between the sexes of the same occupational status in Scottish schools. All that can be achieved from fragmentary pieces of evidence are occasional insights into the varied attitudes of each gender on important issues such as pay, promotions, and employment prospects within the profession. At specific intervals during the thesis, some tentative remarks will be made on the various responses between the sexes on each of these issues.¹

Another methodological problem to be tackled was deciding on the scale and scope of the study. School teachers are not a homogeneous group. Their expectations and socio-economic aspirations varied considerably in accordance with gender, social background, age, geographical mobility, career and marriage prospects. Likewise, the type of educational establishments in which teachers were employed could also be a crucial factor in determining a pedagogue's occupational status and economic position within the educational ladder.

During the late nineteenth century, the provision of public or state education was chiefly organised around two levels of

1. For instance, for information on the views of individual female teachers on the inter-related issues of pay and promotion see chapter four, section four, pp.193.95.

academic instruction: (a) elementary schools, and (b) higher grade and secondary schools.¹ Having said that, the 1872 Education Act made hardly any provision for secondary education in Scotland² and hence, this sector developed at a slow pace. There were, however, some influential secondary schools and academies throughout Scotland (including the Merchant Company Schools³ and St. George's High School for Girls⁴) but the number of teachers in these schools was small and particularly with respect to women teachers. The elementary school sector contained the vast majority of teachers and it was accompanied by a high employment rate of both sexes, although women were numerically dominant by the end of the nineteenth century. Hence, for reasons of comparability and strength in numbers, elementary school teachers were chosen as the focal point of the study.

Notably, however, within the elementary school sector, there existed a distinct variety of sectional groups which were defined in accordance with their occupational position in a school. They

1. For an analytical description of the Scottish elementary and secondary schooling structure, see G.S. Osborne, Scottish and English Schools: A Comparative Study of the Past Fifty Years (1966).
2. For information on Secondary Schools in Scotland, see R. Anderson's recent book, Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983).
3. The records of The Edinburgh Merchant Schools during the late Nineteenth Century are located at the headquarters of the Edinburgh Merchant Company, Hanover Street, Edinburgh.
4. Access to the Archive Sources of St. George's High School for Girls was not permitted.

included infant mistresses, uncertificated teachers, certificated teachers, assistant teachers and head teachers. A more detailed description of each individual group will be presented in chapter two,¹ together with an analysis of the status and gender role of each occupational group in the educational hierarchy. However, it should be pointed out that particular attention will be given to the occupational category of Assistant Certificated Teachers - defined as those who have undertaken a two year course at a teacher training college, and after a probationary period in a school, had acquired a teaching certificate. The principal reason for centring on this group will be to evaluate the relationship between pay and skill in chapter three of the thesis.² This is with the view of establishing the extent to which pay discrimination operated against female teachers in spite of acquiring almost identical professional qualifications as males of the same occupational grade.

The term skill requires some explanation. In the context of the thesis it refers to a professional qualification which had been acquired following the successful completion of a period of apprenticeship at a teacher training college followed by a probationary period in a school. It does have certain analogies with manual trades

1. Chapter two, section one, pp. 61-3.
2. See chapter three, section three, p.137.

such as engineering, in so far as it resembles the title of journeyman awarded to boys following the completion of their apprenticeship.¹ There are, however, distinct differences in the meaning of skill when it is applied to the qualifications obtained by each gender in teaching. It will be argued in chapter three that skill had a social and ideological meaning rather than a purely technical one which was demarcated and constructed in accordance with gender.²

A different dimension in the discussion of deciding upon the scope of the study related to the geographical variations in the conditions of employment of school teachers throughout highland and lowland Scotland. At the outset it should be stressed that the employment of teachers was to a considerable degree influenced by distinct cultural, religious, educational social and economic divisions within Scottish society.³

Thus, the fact that the single largest group of school teachers were to be found in the city of Glasgow was largely due to the

-
1. For further information on the meaning attached to skill with respect to apprentices in manual occupations, see W.W. Knox, British Apprenticeship 1800-1914 (unpublished Ph.D, Edinburgh 1980), pp. 36-56; N. Dearle, Industrial Training (1914); Rev. Spenser J. Gibb, The Boy and His Work (1911).
 2. See chapter three, section three, p.137.
 3. An illuminating analysis of the political, economic and social divisions within Scottish society up until 1830 is presented in T.C. Smout, History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (1969).

high density of population and this in turn produced a demand for teachers to meet the abundant supply of children attending school. One major reason for the extraordinary growth in the population of Glasgow was due to the massive influx of migrant labour from Ireland¹ and the Highlands² during the early nineteenth century. Migration to Glasgow and the surrounding hinterland was prompted by the prospect of finding employment in heavy industries such as shipbuilding, textiles and engineering on the Clyde.³

Irish settlement produced an unprecedented demand for Catholic schools and teachers in Glasgow.⁴ As a result of enormous religious and philanthropic effort, the Catholic clergy could boast a total of 60,000 children in day schools and 1,000 children at evening schools by 1866.⁵ In view of the large Catholic population, it was appropriate that the first Catholic teacher training college

-
1. For an informative account of the migration flow from different parts of Ireland to Scotland, see B. Collins, Migration, Movements in Two Scottish Towns: Paisley and Dundee (unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Edinburgh 1978).
 2. See especially J. Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community (Edinburgh 1976) and M. Gray, The Highland Economy 1750-1850 (Edinburgh 1957).
 3. For further reading see A. Slaven, Glasgow and the West Coast of Scotland 1750-1950, especially c.1, Introduction, The Making of the Region, pp.1-15. Also, R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707 (Oxford 1965), although much of the book is written about eighteenth century society; T.C. Smout, op.cit., pp.355-365.
 4. M. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818-1918' in T.R. Bone (ed.), Studies in the History of Scotland's Education 1872-1939 (1967), pp.13-65.
 5. Ibid.

in Scotland was located at Bearsden, Glasgow, in 1894. The stronghold of Catholic influence in education was further testified by the representation of the Catholic clergy on the Glasgow school board - although the presence of the United and Free Church ministers remained paramount.¹

By contrast, the economic and educational structure of Edinburgh was very different. Edinburgh was the centre of the legal, medical, professional, and literary classes.² According to R.Q. Gray's research, in 1901 9 percent of adult males in Edinburgh were said to be members of the professional class compared with 5 percent in Aberdeen, with lower proportions in Glasgow and Dundee.³ The high percentage of professional employees may in part account for the high attendance rate among pupils at private and fee paying schools, many of which were administered by wealthy businessmen belonging to the Edinburgh Merchant Company. They included the George Watson College for boys,

-
1. For a history of the Notre Dame Teacher Training College, see G. Gillies, A Pioneer of Catholic Teacher Training in Scotland: Sister Mary of St. Wilfred, 1846-1926 (Liverpool, 1978).
 2. See T.C. Smout, op.cit., pp.342-355.
 3. R.Q. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford 1976); see especially c.2, pp.7-27.

George Watsons Ladies' College, James Gillespie's School, and Daniel Stewart's College. The curriculum in each of these schools was wide-ranging and teachers were expected to be highly qualified.¹

Aberdeen also had peculiar regional differences within the overall educational system. This was manifested in the larger number of University graduates compared with any other region in Scotland during the nineteenth century. The reasons for the phenomenon was the existence of an endowment scheme which empowered funds for the University education of males in the North Eastern districts of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray. This endowment was commonly referred to as the Dick Bequest scheme and its founder, James Dick, died in 1838.² His chief motive for bequeathing his fortune was for the:

... maintenance and assistance of county parochial schoolmasters in the counties Aberdeen, Banff and Moray and to encourage active schoolmasters and gradually to elevate the literary character of the parochial schoolmaster ... and to particularly recommend the said professors to pay attention to the qualifications and diligence of several schoolmasters.³

In accordance with the founder's aim, the trustees imposed a stringent examination on all candidates wishing to become University

1. A brief historical account of the Edinburgh Merchant schools is presented by A. Heron, The Merchant Company: Its Rise and Progress (Edinburgh 1902).
2. For further information on the operation of the Dick Bequest see A. Menzies, Report of the Dick Bequest (Edinburgh 1954).
3. Ibid, p.14. See also S.S. Laurie, Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, (Edinburgh 1865).

graduates. Successful candidates who had undertaken University courses could subsequently enter the teaching profession. According to visiting inspectors such as S.S. Laurie, and Dr. Kerr, this scheme was outstandingly successful; Kerr commented in 1890 that:

Out of 150 teachers in Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, at least 130 are Masters of the Arts. You will find that nowhere else in Scotland ... elsewhere in Scotland you will not find one in fifty.¹

Education provision varied not only between Scottish cities but also within rural districts based on an agrarian economy. The experiences of teachers employed in remote northern districts such as the Orkney Islands and Shetland were characterised by small classes due to a scattered population and irregular attendance among school children who were otherwise engaged in seasonal agricultural work to supplement the family income.² In essence, many school teachers in rural districts encountered a specific and a different set of difficulties from their counterparts in urban areas. They frequently had to contend with bad road communications, no transport, bleak climatic conditions, and isolation. According to the reports of the inspectorate,³ these factors were instrumental in creating much mobility to the cities in lowland Scotland. Otherwise, there was a constant flow of

-
1. S.S. Laurie, Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest on the Rural Public (formerly Parochial) Schools of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray (Edinburgh 1890), p.21; also S.S. Laurie, General Report to the Governors of the Dick Bequest 1890-1904 (Edinburgh 1904).
 2. For an account of the agricultural employment of workers in the north east of Scotland see I. Carter, From Life in North-East Scotland, 1840-1914 (1979).
 3. Summary of evidence of Inspectorate Reports of CCES 1873/1908.

complaints from teachers in the Highlands and Western Isles to the SED and it resulted in the allocation of a special grant in 1885 for the purposes of aiding teachers and schools in Highland areas and the Western Isles.¹

The regional differences in the position of school teachers are extensively incorporated within the text, particularly in connection with wages² and EIS membership throughout Scotland.³ However, the bulk of the documentary evidence on specific localities relates to the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Glasgow was selected on the grounds that it contained the single largest group of elementary school teachers and hence a substantial quantity of historical sources are to be found here. Edinburgh was chosen as a useful starting point for ~~comparison~~ with Glasgow, in view of the distinctive differences in the social and educational characteristics of each city. In addition, references are made to local variations within urban and rural areas, in terms of varying educational practices throughout Scotland.

Clearly, therefore, one is dealing with a highly diversified educational system and a variety of administrative, religious, and cultural institutions. This inevitably inflates the difficulty of comparative analysis and the danger of generalisations. Nonetheless, an embryonic awareness of these various methodological difficulties should lead to a deeper understanding of some of the inherent complexities involved in studying the historical development of the gender division of labour between teachers in Scottish schools.

-
1. For further information on the problems which school teachers faced in the Highlands, see PP 1895/6, Cmnd. 4850, Vol. XXVII, Report of the CCES 1886, pp. 405-14.
 2. Chapter three, section two, pp. 108-22.
 3. Chapter four, section one, pp. 139-53.

Section three: Historical Background

Gender divisions between elementary school teachers did not begin in 1872. There is some evidence which would indicate that it had a pre-history and hence, the purpose of this section is to inquire into the emergence and early manifestations of gender divisions in the classroom prior to 1872. This is with the view of assessing the underlying attitudes of male educationalists towards the recruitment and employment of women in teaching on the one hand, and the types of academic subjects which women were expected to teach in Scottish schools during the mid Victorian period, on the other.

Before embarking on this investigation, however, it is necessary to describe the chief policy makers ~~whose~~ ^{enabled them} positions of power/to determine and influence the training programme and the content of the curriculum of each gender in teaching during the nineteenth century.

Throughout the period under scrutiny, the basic structure of Scottish education involved a complex interaction between various departments and offices. They comprised the Committee of the Privy Council for Education in Scotland (CCES), the Scotch Education Department (SED),¹ the school board authorities, the churches (Catholic, Episcopal, Free Church, and United Presbyterian), and the

1. The Scotch Education Department was known under this title until the introduction of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Thereafter, it was called the Scottish Education Department.

Treasury. The Committee of the Privy Council for education was the major body responsible for the administration of education in Scotland from 1839 onwards.¹ It was formed with the purpose of discussing fundamental issues such as the annual code of regulations relating to grants, drafting educational legislation and any minutes involving actual expenditure on schools and teaching staff. However, in practice, its exact role seems to have been ambiguous and uncertain. It would appear that the meetings of the Privy Council on education were few and irregular. W.E. Forster, one of the prime movers in implementing the 1870 English Education Act, was reported to have told the Select Committee of 1884, that:

... the Committee of Council on Education "was more a phrase than a reality" and that he had a dim recollection that there were one or two formal meetings ... "but they have not fostered themselves upon my memory at all".²

A similar criticism was choed by Mr. Smeaton, a prominent member in the Treasury. He complained that the Privy Council:

... was no working committee at all ... that the whole thing was a fiction. My Lords were simply the Secretary of the Scottish Education Department sitting at his desk in Dover House. It was a one-man department.³

-
1. For a detailed description of the powers of the Privy Council on education, see G. Sutherland, op.cit., pp.5-30. Also, G. Sutherland, Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century (1971), 52pp.
 2. G. Sutherland, op.cit., pp.33-5.
 3. Ibid.

It would appear from these statements that the Privy Council may have had a formal structure on paper, but in practice it was deeply reliant on the administrative capabilities of male officials in the Scotch Education Department.¹ The SED was a central organ of the Privy Council and it was set up in 1872 with the express task of putting the new piece of legislation into effect. This meant that the Department had to place under its control a large number of independent and parochial schools, and to weld these schools together into a coherent state controlled educational system. Thus, any legislative decisions affecting the control of entry of each sex into the teaching profession came under the jurisdiction and power of the SED.²

The headquarters of the SED were based in Whitehall, London, and the links with the English Education Department were further maintained by the fact that they shared the same president, vice president and permanent secretary. Within educational circles, however, there was a prevalent belief that Scotland should have its own independent representation, and in 1885 this did happen, when the SED was officially separated from the English Department.³ The first man to be appointed to this position was Henry Craik and together with John Struthers, who replaced him in 1904, they were crucial figures in the moulding and execution of

1. For a full analysis of the role and powers of the SED in the educational system see especially O.S. Osbourne, op.cit., pp.14-29.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

policy making decisions affecting all aspects of Scottish education.¹

The fact that both men held key positions of power in educational policy making circles over an interval of approximately forty years meant that there was a certain amount of continuity in the decision making processes. To a large extent, this continuity was strengthened by the presence of a small and cohesive number of inspectors who also enjoyed a prolonged and lengthy period of service in their jobs.² For example, John Kerr was senior inspector of teacher training colleges in Scotland during the 1890s and his career as an HMI spanned throughout the late nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth century. Kerr and other well known HMIs such as Charles Wilson, provided regular feedback to Henry Craik on Scottish schools, pupils and the teaching staff in different geographical districts dispersed throughout Scotland.³ In their annual reports, individual HMIs frequently made recommendations relating to issues such as the shortage or over-supply of male and female teachers in schools within specific

-
1. For an informative analysis of the part played by Henry Craik and John Struthers in policy making circles, see especially H. Paterson, 'Godfrey Thompson and the Development of Psychometrics in Scotland 1925-1950' (unpublished paper, University of Glasgow, 1979), pp.1-13. According to Paterson, by the 1880s, '...The Department ... was dominated by the figure of the permanent secretary. These were men with clear ideas of how Scottish education should be run most efficiently and with the determination and power to see these ideas translated into policy and practice'.
 2. Ibid.
 3. For further confirmation of this point see the Reports of the CCES 1873/1908.

localities. It meant that there was a close and interwoven network of male educational officials within the SED who were entrusted with enormous power to design changes in policies affecting teachers as a mass body.

However, although the SED was responsible for the overall supervision of Scottish education, there were two other bodies which exercised considerable influence on the teaching profession - the churches and the school boards. Under Section 55 of the 1872 Education Act, the school board authorities were introduced. They were a publicly elected body and each board was given extensive powers in connection with the employment, dismissal and remuneration of teachers. The impact of school board policies on teachers' pay is discussed at length in chapter three¹ and need not be outlined here. Nonetheless, it should be said that they played a decisive role in the development and reinforcement of pay differentials between the sexes in elementary school teaching.

The power of the Presbyterian Churches in educational affairs was exerted chiefly through their control of denominational schools on the one hand, and the administration of the teacher training colleges, on the other. The legal jurisdiction and powers of the Presbytery in Scottish education was strengthened by the Act of 1696. Under this Act, schoolmasters were to be appointed by the

1. See chapter three, section two, pp.108-22.

minister along with heritors who owned land within the parish of more than £100 Scots.¹ All appointments were subject to the approval of the Presbytery and each schoolmaster was required to sign the Confession of Faith and adhere to the doctrines of the Church of Scotland. In addition, the minister of the parish was given the power of supervising the work of the school including the hours of teaching and the length of a teacher's vacation.² Thus, in this way, the Act perpetuated the close connection between the Church of Scotland and the statutory system of education that had already existed for over a century.

This Act was further consolidated in 1824 when the General Assembly was requested to appoint an Education Committee whose functions included not only the supervision of schools but also the making of recommendations ^{to} as/ways in which the entire structure of Scottish education could be improved. During the 1820s and 1830s, the religious and moral precepts of the Church of Scotland in educational affairs was further entrenched through the establishment of a network of charity and monitorial schools in Scotland.³

The growth of religious educational provision was accompanied by a growing awareness within Presbytery circles that a body of trained and professionally qualified teachers was required in order

1. H.M. Knox, op.cit., pp.24-5.

2. Ibid.

3. See D. Hamilton, 'On Simultaneous Instruction and the Early Evolution of Class Teaching' (unpublished paper, University of Glasgow, January 1981).

to instruct children in bible reading and educational precepts. David Stow, a missionary, and member of the Church of Scotland, was largely responsible for pioneering the opening of teacher training colleges in Scotland, and it was largely through his enterprising efforts that a training college at Dundas Vale was opened in Glasgow in 1836.¹ Shortly after its foundation however, this pioneer experiment found itself heavily in debt and in spite of financial aid from the Glasgow Education Society, Stow's resources had been exhausted before the completion of the building.

He was forced, therefore, to appeal to the Privy Council for Education for additional funds to wipe out his existing debt. In 1841, an agreement was reached whereby a state grant of £5,000 was given towards reducing the debt and a recurrent annual sum of £500 was to be paid towards the maintenance of the training college but on the strict condition that the Church of Scotland continued to be responsible for the administration of the College.² In this way, the Church and the state became closely allied in teacher training from the early nineteenth century until the opening decade of the twentieth century.³

-
1. For an innovative account of the beliefs of men such as David and Robert Owen, see also D. Hamilton, op.cit., pp.1-24. See also, D. Stow, The Training System, Glasgow (McPhun 1830); R.D. Owen, An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark (1824), reprinted in B. Simon (ed.), The Educational Tradition in Britain (1972).
 2. H.M. Knox, op.cit., pp.23-6.
 3. For information on the role of the Presbyterian Churches in the Teacher Training College system after 1872 see chapter two, section one, pp. 54-8.

The involvement of the Church in the system for training teachers was unexpectedly accelerated by the national disruption within the Presbyterian church in 1843.¹ A powerful section of evangelicals led by Thomas Chalmers objected to the practice of lay patronage in the presentation of ministers. There followed an exodus of 470 ministers from the General Assembly and a new denomination, designated as the Free Church of Scotland, was founded. As a result of this schism, Stow and other members of his staff who had adhered to the same philosophy as Chalmers found themselves ousted from their positions at Dundas Vale College. Likewise, approximately 80 parochial schoolmasters and 360 teachers were compelled to sacrifice their homes and livelihood because of their membership of the newly formed Free Church. The immediate response of the Free Church was to build a large network of schools and training colleges similar to that of its sister Church; within six years of its formation, the Free Church had built over 500 schools and two teacher training colleges in Glasgow and Edinburgh.² Thus, although the Disruption had split the ecclesiastical and secular unity of the country it had brought considerable educational expansion. A major consequence of this chain of events was that both churches had a central voice

1. For further information on the National Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, see A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class: The disruptive years in Aberdeen (1974).

2. H.M. Knox, op.cit., pp.23-6.

in any negotiations with the CCES concerning policies and proposed changes in the teacher training system.

Having described briefly the role of various educational bodies connected with the teaching profession, more specific attention should now be focused on the underlying attitudes of the churches and employers during this period towards the entry and employment of women teachers. This is with the view of evaluating the extent to which female recruitment into the profession was associated with the early manifestations of gender divisions between teachers prior to the introduction of a state controlled educational system.

Employment and the early manifestations of Gender Divisions within the Scottish Teaching Profession, 1850-1872.

Prior to the 1850s, the Scottish teaching profession was almost entirely composed of men. The notion of employing women teachers in parochial schools was completely alien to churchmen and heritors alike in eighteenth century Scotland. Outside the realm of parochial schools, there was a smattering of female teachers who offered voluntary instruction to pupils in Sunday schools and charitable institutions. The chief form of paid employment for female teachers was to be found in private boarding educational institutions. In Edinburgh, for example, 49 private establishments were believed to have existed during the late eighteenth century. These institutions were usually administered

by wealthy ladies and they were designed to accomplish girls in a range of cultural pursuits such as playing the piano, dancing, embroidery and learning languages.¹ Nonetheless, outside the sphere of private tuition and philanthropic enterprise, there was no large scale supply or demand for the services of female teachers in Scottish parochial schools.

By the mid Victorian period however, it would appear that the characteristics of the teaching labour market were changing and that there was a growing supply of female entrants into the profession. The 1841 occupational census recorded a total of 2,099 female teachers above the age of twenty although the reliability of these figures must be open to question since no clear distinction was made between teachers and governesses until the publication of the 1871 census. Nonetheless, an examination of the attendance figures at the teacher training colleges does confirm that a significant number of girls were undertaking courses with the view of becoming future members of the teaching profession.² For example, at the Glasgow Church of Scotland Training College, there was a total of 61 females and 64 males in 1855, and in 1860,

1. J. Currie, The Principles and Practice of Early School Education (Edinburgh 1857).
2. The records of the Church of Scotland Teacher Training College are located in the New College Library, Edinburgh.

these figures were 104 and 111 respectively.¹ Meanwhile at the Church of Scotland training college in Edinburgh, there was a total of 51 males and 62 female students in 1855, and in 1860 these figures were 75 and 76.² As will be seen in the following chapter, it was only during the late 1870s that female students constituted the vast majority of training college entrants and this became a consistent trend during the late nineteenth century. The chief contrast between the 1850s and late 1870s therefore, was that the sex distribution in the numbers attending the teacher training colleges was quite similar prior to the 1872 Education Act.

However, the major point of significance was that the similar distribution in the numbers of males and females entering into the training colleges concealed the large discrepancy in the employment pattern of each sex in Scottish parochial schools between the 1850s and 1870s. Females were a distinct minority in the teaching profession in virtually all urban and rural districts throughout Scotland. Table 1.6 presents the geographical areas in which teachers were employed in the Northern and Southern Counties of Scotland in 1851 and 1871.

1. Reports of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland (subsequent refs. ECCS), Vol.II, 1855/1860.
2. Ibid.

Table 1.6.

The Employment of Schoolmasters and
Schoolmistresses in Scotland 1851 and 1871

Northern Counties 1851 & 1871

<u>1851</u>	Perth	Forfar	Kincaird in	Aberdeen	Banff	Elgin	Nairn	Inverness	Argyll	Ross & Cromarty	Sutherland	Cathness	Orkney & Shetland
Females	133	103	45	219	101	62	17	34	49	39	12	21	44
Males	316	186	47	268	88	59	10	153	209	152	70	50	99
<u>1871</u>													
Females	120	171	11	199	52	27	6	34	89	40	14	13	-
Males	326	208	62	358	75	44	9	125	219	142	46	53	-

Southern Counties 1851 & 1871

<u>1851</u>	Stew Wdg arty town	Ayr	Bute	Renfrew	Dumbart	Inmark	Stir ling	14th gow	Edin burgh	Peeble	Sel kirk	Rox burgh	Ber wick	Hadd ingt on	Fife	Clack man	Kin ross	
Females	19	33	64	3	80	11	254	44	10	199	8	7	48	41	37	78	33	9
Males	21	52	158	22	137	53	481	91	31	234	33	19	94	77	60	154	39	18
<u>1871</u>																		
Females	13	42	15	22	40	165	51	8	-	6	2	13	6	4	104	13	0	
Males	42	216	36	109	90	217	128	40	-	22	17	69	52	40	216	40	13	

Sources: PP 1853/3, Cmd. 1691, Vol. CCLXV, Report of the Census of Great Britain;
PP 1872/3, Cmd. 841, Vol. LXXIII, Report of the Census of Great Britain.

Table 1.6 accords with the national statistics in table 1.1 and confirms that male teachers constituted the largest group in the profession prior to 1872; their superiority in numbers extended across a variety of urban and rural boundaries throughout Scotland. In the remote highland district of Ross and Cromarty, female teachers numbered 39 compared to 152 men in 1851 and there was no striking change in the picture in 1871; they numbered 40 and 145 respectively. This characteristic of the teaching labour market was also prevalent in the densely populated county of Lanarkshire which contained the city of Glasgow within its boundaries. In 1851, men numbered 481 compared with 254 women, and in 1871, these figures were 217 and 165 respectively. The notable exceptions where the converse was true was in the north east of Scotland; in 1851 a marginally larger number of females^{than men} were employed in schools in the districts of Banffshire, Elginshire, and Nairnshire, but by 1871 these employment figures had been reversed once again.¹

How then do we account for the smaller number of women teachers employed in Scottish schools prior to the 1872 Act?

One possible suggestion could be that there was a substantially larger number of male recruits in the teaching labour market in comparison with females. However, this would appear to be unlikely

1. See Table 1.6.

given that the distribution in the sex ratio of students attending the training colleges was similar; furthermore, there was a firm belief among contemporaries that there was a surplus of females in need of remunerative employment and teaching was acknowledged as a suitable profession.¹ A much more plausible argument^{however,} could be that the demand for the services of women teachers lagged far behind that of men in the eyes of heritors and churchmen. The concept of the parish schoolmaster was long established and deeply cherished within the Scottish education system whereas the employment of female teachers on any significant scale was comparatively recent - taking place mainly during the Victorian era.² Accordingly, it would be argued that employers were in favour of maintaining the tradition of employing schoolmasters in preference to women.

Furthermore, there is some evidence which would suggest that employment opportunities for female teachers were more restricted precisely because they were perceived along sex specific lines. This was manifested through the content of the training college syllabus and the narrow range of educational establishments in which women were employed during the early and mid nineteenth century. In support of this argument, it would appear that the entry of women into teaching was accompanied by the formulation and construction

1. See this chapter, section one, pp.11-12.
2. For further confirmation of this point see especially J.D. Myers, 'Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy 1803-1872: Attitudes and Influence' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1970).

of gender roles which was based on the dominant ideology of women in their traditional role in the home as wife and mother.

The most explicit signs of this process surfaced with the admission of females into the teacher training colleges from the 1830s onwards. Female entry into the colleges was largely due to David Stow who believed that infant schools should resemble a family and that teachers should act as substitute parents for the children.¹ Hence, the entry of girls into the colleges was encouraged largely because of their maternal instincts and future family responsibilities.² However it was not until the introduction of the 1846 minutes (which instituted a state financed pupil teacher system) that formal distinctions along gender lines were formulated in the training college syllabus.³ Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, then secretary of Privy Council for Education, was the prime mover in persuading the

1. This information is owed to Liz Bird; unpublished paper on Women in Education in Scotland (Bristol, 1981).
2. Ibid.
3. For further information on the origins of the pupil teacher system, see F. Widdowson, op.cit., pp.14-19.

Government to initiate a four year apprenticeship (between the ages of thirteen to eighteen) for pupils intent on entering the teaching profession.¹ Under this scheme, candidates could/^{then}enter an examination called the Queens Scholarship for a future place at a teacher training college. The content of the examination syllabus was devised in accordance with gender; females were expected to answer questions in domestic economy, needlework, French and botany whereas males were required to answer questions in mathematics, algebra, physiology, geology and Greek. Other subjects such as English language and English literature were deemed suitable for all candidates.²

Thereafter, differentiation between male and female students was upheld in various ways. Female students were encouraged to reside in boarding houses at a cost of 8 shillings a week. They were expected to undertake a range of domestic tasks including laundry work, washing and needlework, beginning at 6.00 a.m. every morning. This period of domestic drudgery was followed by a full timetable of academic lessons and there were many complaints from some inspectors that girls suffered as a result from nervous strain caused by overwork.³

Nonetheless, it was believed by other inspectors and Church of Scotland officials, such as S.S. Laurie, that boarding houses were eminently suited to the training of girls on the basis that these

-
1. For a full analysis of the activities and ideas of Sir Kay Shuttleworth, see an illuminating article by R. Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England' in Past and Present, No.49, November 1970, pp.96-120.
 2. See M. Cruickshanks, A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland (1970), pp.61-2.
 3. M. Cruickshanks, op.cit., pp.69-70.

provided a valuable opportunity to prepare for the Privy Council examination in domestic economy.¹ This examination required that girls should have a knowledge of food, needlework, sick-aid, ventilation, budgeting and household expenditure. Residential accommodation in boarding houses, however, was a practice almost entirely reserved for girls; Presbyterian officials were actually opposed to male residence on the grounds that they were associated 'with a monastic and hospital atmosphere'.²

Further differentiation was made between the sexes by the fact that they were physically separated from one another - female students were taught separately from the males and their courses were organised in such a way that there were 'two institutions under the one roof'.³ In this way, it can be seen that occupational divisions were being formulated in accordance with gender as manifested by the content of the training college syllabus and the attitudes of the church authorities towards female entry into the colleges.

The major point of significance was that the training college courses undertaken by female students was perceived as a logical preparation for that future employment in single sex schools.

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.



Educational establishments such as Dame schools, Female Adventure Schools, and female industrial schools were ever-increasingly associated with women teachers. In 1855, for example, the underlying aims of training girls to teach in female industrial schools was described by church officials as a way of:

... training female pupils attending our primary schools as will give them the power of discharging properly duties which in all probability at some future time will devolve upon them as wives and mothers. This most desirable object can be attained only by sending out schoolmistresses qualified to give the necessary instruction.¹

Moreover, within parochial schools there were also growing signs that certain occupational tasks were being devised along gender lines. With the passing of the 1861 Act, heritors and churchmen were permitted to appoint females as sewing mistresses in parochial schools in Scotland. This was symbolic because it marked the official beginnings of a dynamic process which was to develop during the 1870s with the accelerated influx of women into the Scottish teaching profession.

1. Reports of ECCS, Vol.II 1855, p.12.

CHAPTER TWO

FEMINISATION OF THE SCOTTISH TEACHING PROFESSION:
1872-1914

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession in state elementary schools, and its implications for the development of occupational divisions between the sexes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Section one assesses the impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act in altering the balance of recruitment of the sexes into teaching during that decade. It also examines the role of the Presbyterian churches in the teacher training colleges after 1872 and the sex ratio of entrants attending the colleges.

Section two analyses the perceptions and responses of male educational officials to the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession during the 1880s and 1890s. Particular attention is paid to the anxieties expressed amongst male officials concerning the scarcity of male entrants into the profession on the one hand, and the numerical domination of women teachers on the other.

The final section describes the new regulations for the training of teachers, introduced by the SED in 1906. It is argued that this new piece of legislation had important implications for the expansion of female opportunities in terms of acquiring a teaching certificate in Scotland before 1914.

Section One: The Transitional Years 1872-1882

One of the major provisions of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act was:

... to amend and extend the provisions of the law of Scotland on the subject of education in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland.¹

This goal was to be obtained by securing the following list of provisions: firstly, a number of suitable schools sufficient to meet the requirements of the population, and secondly, regular attendance at these schools.² The fundamental objective of the Act, therefore, was to introduce a national educational system and compulsory education for all children over the age of five.³ This in turn meant that an increase in the supply of teachers was urgently needed to meet the proposed increase of scholars attending school. Another relevant clause which was to have a striking impact on the teaching profession in Scotland was the ruling that

... no person shall be appointed to the position of principal teacher who is not the holder of a certificate of competency.⁴

Together these stipulations created an extensive range of problems for the SED. The foremost difficulty they faced was that on the one hand, they wished to raise educational standards by demanding qualified and certificated teachers which meant attending a teacher training college for two years. On the other hand to train teachers was a costly and time-consuming operation and particularly in a period when the demand for teachers was far greater than the supply following the introduction of the 1872 Act. For example, in the year of 1874-5 alone, there was a 23.3 per cent increase in the number of children

1. P.P. 1873, Cmnd. 812, Vol. XXIV. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, 35 and 36 Vict. c.62, Clause 107, p.CXXV.

2. Ibid.

3. The introduction of compulsory education for Scottish school children in 1872 was a unique feature of the British educational system. It was not until 1880 that similar legislation was introduced in England and Wales. For further information see G. Sutherland, Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century (1971) 52 pp. Also, G. Sutherland, Policy making in Elementary Education 1870-1895 (Oxford 1973), pp.115-170.

4. P.P. 1878/9, Cmnd. C.2343-1, Vol. XXV. Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1878, p.VII.

attending school.

A related problem was that although the SED had overall control of Scottish education, the teacher training colleges were administered by the Presbyterian churches. This feature of the educational system caused a longstanding source of tension between the two bodies over the inadequate provision of training college accommodation. The churches were unable to undertake large schemes of reconstruction to accommodate the sharp rise of students attending college after 1872 without the aid of extensive funds, whereas the SED felt itself unable to give enormous grants which would increase the value of church property and the power of the church in educational affairs.¹ In effect, the SED desperately wished to reduce the control and powers of the church rather than to extend them. A major step towards reducing the church's stronghold in the educational sphere was taken in 1872. Clause 68 of the Act contained the radical insertion that state schools were to be non-denominational.

Every public school and every school subject to inspection shall be open to children of all denominations and any child may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects and from any religious observance in any such school.²

This was to mark the end of an era in which the Kirk had retained legal control over public education for over 300 years. Not unexpectedly, the response of the Presbyterian Churches to this clause was a positive one. They were well aware that they could continue to exercise a considerable degree of influence in religious and educational matters with the aid

1. For further information on the inadequate provision of training college accommodation see M. Cruickshanks, A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland, (1970), pp.55-57.
2. P.P. 1873, op.cit., Vol. XXIV, Clause 68, p.CX/IV.

of voluntary schools but more particularly through the medium of the teacher training college. The power of this strategic weapon and how it could be used was made very explicit in the church reports shortly after the introduction of the 1872 Act. The Education Committee of the Church of Scotland wrote:

Now the Act is an accomplished fact it is the duty of the church to lend its aid in carrying it out and its influence in directing the administration of it ... In prosecuting this object they will best serve the interests of a religious education for they will thus furnish successive bands of teachers trained under the auspices of the church.¹

The response of the Free Church of Scotland was equally adamant.

Thomas Main, Convener of the Education Committee, warned in 1876, that:

If the Church ... lost the religious training of teachers they would lose the one hold they now had directly as a church upon the religious education of the country.²

The control of the Church in educational affairs was actually upheld when the Church of Scotland established a teacher training college for girls in Aberdeen in 1873. The SED had reluctantly agreed to this demand but on the strict condition that the majority of female entrants were to be self financed.³ In 1874 the Free Church followed suit by establishing another training college in Aberdeen exclusively for women. This meant that by 1875, the Church of Scotland and the Free Church had set up six training colleges in Scotland. Meanwhile the Episcopal Church retained its control over a small residential college (numbers averaged about 50 students) for self-supporting female students in Edinburgh.

1. Reports of the Education Committee to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (subsequent refs. E.C.C.S.), Vol. VII, 1871/73, May 1873, pp.6-9. Records located in New College Library, Edinburgh.
2. Reports of the Education Committee of the Free Church (subsequent refs. E.C.F.C.S.), No. II, May 1876, pp.1-7. Records located in Free Church Library, The Mound, Edinburgh.
3. For further discussion on self financed female students, see section three of this chapter., pp.83-4.

However, with the Act's recommendation that all principal teachers should be certificated ~~the churches~~ were even less able to physically accommodate the overwhelming influx of prospective students into their training colleges. This resulted in a large percentage of potential teachers being forced to seek alternative occupations whilst others were willingly accepted into smaller board schools without any formal qualifications. Since the training colleges provided the major training vehicle for entry into the teaching profession it had far reaching implications on the standard of qualifications attained by the sexes.

Rejection from training college had a particularly serious effect on female aspirations and skills. A larger number of girls were applying for training college entry during the 1870s. As a result the sex ratio of entrants into the training colleges was decisively altered from the pattern which had been established in the 1860s.¹ This was particularly true of the attendance figures at the Free Church training colleges. The Education Committee reports recorded that only 129 males compared with 217 females were attending colleges in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1873.² By 1878 these figures had increased to 153 and 281 respectively, whilst the Church of Scotland reported in 1876 that out of a total of 477 students attending Scottish training colleges there were 192 males compared with 285 females.³

1. See chapter one, section three, pp.44-5.

2. Reports of E.C.F.C.S. No. 5, May 1873, pp.1-7.

3. Reports of E.C.C.S. Vol. IX, 1877/1879, May 1879, p.10.

The higher attendance rate amongst female students tended to obscure the fact that a larger number of females were also rejected from entering the training colleges even though they had successfully gained 2nd class honours in the Admission examination. For example, in 1877 the number of candidates sitting the entrance examination at the Church of Scotland training college in Glasgow was 75 males and 112 females; the results of the examination showed that 17 males and 10 females had failed to meet the required standard laid down by the Scotch code. However, the actual number of candidates who were successful in securing a place at the college was 50 males and only 52 females.¹ This meant that nearly all of the male candidates were accepted into the training college but there remained a sizeable number of successful female candidates who were refused entry - principally due to a lack of accommodation.

Hence the structural defects of the training college system and the strained relations between the SED and the church authorities created a situation whereby many females were not given the opportunity to equip themselves with a training college certificate. This resulted in a pool of unskilled female labour being thrown back onto the teaching labour market in greater quantities than their male counterparts. Given, therefore, the inadequacy of training college accommodation, the foremost question the SED faced was how to increase the existing supply of teachers without further extending the power and control of the Church.

 1. Reports of E.C.C.S. Vol. IX 1877/1879, May 1877, p.56.

The SED responded to this problem by devising a number of new schemes in addition to those already in operation which would increase the supply of certificated teachers without their attending a course at a teacher training college. The SED decided to pursue a dual policy in which there was an army of untrained and unskilled teachers alongside an increasing percentage of trained certificated teachers.

The policy was ambivalent; on the one hand the overall aim was to improve Scottish educational standards by demanding a body of 'competent' and skilled teachers but on the other hand, an army of teachers was urgently required to meet the rise in the number of children attending school. The decision to implement this policy was reported by Sandon Gordon and Richmond - Commissioners from the Scotch Education Department in London. In 1875 they wrote:

... the supply of certificated teachers is at present much below the demand ... A sufficient supply of teachers is not forthcoming and we have therefore slightly modified the article 59 in the code, introduced by our predecessors by which the SED are empowered to grant certificates without examination to persons who having been for some years in charge of elementary schools are reported by the inspectors to be efficient teachers.¹

The duplicity of this policy led to the development of a well-defined occupational hierarchy within the teaching profession. It was comprised of various categories of teachers and each of these teachers could be identified as having varying degrees of status

1. P.P. 1875/6 Cmd. 1514, Vol. XXV. Reports of C.C.E.S. 1875, pp.1-30.

depending on sex and to a lesser extent on qualifications, age and previous teaching experience. A synopsis of the various categories of teachers is necessary in order to locate more precisely the position that each group held within this hierarchical educational structure. During the course of the 1870s the Scotch code recognised five categories of teachers consisting of:

- (a) Certificated Teachers
- (b) Provisionally Certificated Teachers
- (c) Assistant Uncertificated Teachers and Acting Teachers
- (d) Female Assistant Uncertificated Teachers
- (e) Pupil Teachers.¹

(a) Certificated Teachers

This category referred to those teachers who had undertaken a two year training college course but they only gained a certificate after completing a probationary period of actual service in a school. In practice this category incorporated two distinct groups of teachers: (1) Principal Certificated teachers which referred to headmasters and headmistresses and (2) Assistant Certificated teachers which normally referred to the teaching staff in schools who had undergone a training college course. The distinction is an important

 1. P.P. 1878/9 Cmd. 2343-1, Vol. XXV, Reports of C.C.E.S. Scotch Code 1879, pp.80-85.

one because inevitably Principal teachers had a higher income and greater standing than Assistants.¹

(b) Provisionally Certificated Teachers

This category provides an excellent example of a scheme created by the SED in 1874 in which they presented teachers with a temporary certificate without their going through the formal channel of a training college. It was aptly referred to as 'Provisional' because when the teacher reached the age of twenty-five the certificate was cancelled. Within their short working life, provisionally certificated teachers served a most important function for the smaller school boards in rural districts. They were given the authority to teach up to sixty pupils in a class room without calling on the service of another teacher.²

(c) Assistant Uncertificated Teachers and Acting Teachers

These groups were entirely composed of untrained teachers. They were usually employed to teach in a school under the authority and guidance of a certificated teacher. The only factors which distinguished them from pupil teachers was that they were regarded as part of the school staff and they were not required to be annually examined.

(d) Assistant Uncertificated Female Teachers

This category was specifically created by the SED to meet the increase in the number of children doing needlework in the junior and senior departments in elementary schools. The majority of needlework

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

mistresses were described as untrained Assistants and their status was comparable to that of pupil teachers in spite of the fact that they had to be eighteen or over.¹

(e) Pupil Teachers

This group was defined as those who served a five year apprenticeship in a school between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. They were placed under the control of a certificated teacher and their progress was monitored by an inspector.²

A closer examination of the internal organisation of the educational hierarchy shows that occupational divisions based on sex were adapted in accordance with educational policy and attitudes. After the 1872 Act, the church authorities and the SED actively began to encourage the entry of women into teaching, partly because of an abundant supply of female labour. More importantly, however, there was a particular need for teachers in the infant sector of the elementary school where there was an intense concentration of pupils after universal education had been introduced in 1872. Together these factors resulted in a greater degree of interest in the role of women teachers and the instruction of infants. It was rationalised on the grounds that women had an innate and maternal sympathy with child nature and they were therefore 'naturally' more suited to teaching young children. This view was gaining increasing acceptance in official educational circles.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

Gordon, Richmond and Hamilton, senior officials in the SED, expressed such a viewpoint in 1878.

The education of children should be so conducted as to develop grace and gentleness in their manners and deportment. If they are brought up under the gentler, more natural qualities of female teachers, a better result may be expected to be attained, than if trained entirely by men (my italics).¹

It was accompanied by a growing conviction in some intellectual circles that women teachers should have exclusive responsibility and control of the infant department. James Currie, rector of the Church of Scotland training college in Edinburgh, articulated this view in the early 1870s.

I have often expressed my conviction that the education of children up until the age of nine is women's work. They are better fitted for that kind of work than men; and in point of fact they do it infinitely better when they are suitably trained for it. The gradual though slow increase in the number of female schools seems to show that prejudice against women as teachers is dying out.²

As Currie's comment suggests, the notion of the infant department being conceived as a 'woman's sphere' represented a notable departure from pedagogic practice in the early nineteenth century. An infant school was generally associated with an infant schoolmaster who was usually assisted by his wife or a young female assistant. The major point of significance was that it was the male who was the dominant figure in this sector of the educational system and the female mistress

1. Ibid.

2. Reports of E.C.F.C.S. Vol. VII, 1871, pp.12-13.

played a secondary role. Thus such titles as 'Qualifications of an Infant Schoolmaster' (my italics) were to be found in the Glasgow training schools under the control of David Stow in the 1830s, whereas during the mid 1870s growing emphasis was placed on the qualifications of an Infant Schoolmistress (my italics).¹

Overall the 1870s marked a transitional period when occupational divisions between the sexes were becoming increasingly definite. The shift in the employment and recruitment of women into teaching was closely associated with changes taking place in the internal organisation of elementary schools. The transitional nature of this shift was analysed in a report by James Currie in 1875. He was commenting on the numbers of male and female students who had left training colleges and had subsequently obtained teaching posts.

Especially noticeable was the rapidity with which female students were appointed. So different from what it was in former years. This is accounted for by the fact that the public school of the country is almost universally conforming to one type of organisation, that in which there is a master responsible for the whole, and the mistress under him for the instruction of the younger children.²

Currie's model could be more appropriately applied to small schools in rural localities but in urban areas with high population density, the organisation of the teaching staff in an elementary school was more complex. Even within each geographical boundary of a city the size of the teaching staff could display considerable variations. Generally speaking however, the occupational hierarchy

1. R. Rusk, The Training of Teachers in Scotland: An Historical Review (Edinburgh, 1928).
2. Reports of E.C.C.S. Vol. VIII 1874/1876, Appendix III, April 1875, p.47.

was organised along the following lines in Table Two.

TABLE 2.1¹

Educational Ladder in an Elementary School

Headmaster

Deputy Headmaster

Assistant Certificated Master

Assistant Certificated Mistress

Infant Mistress (Head of the Infant Department)

Assistant female teachers

Pupil teachers

Occupational divisions between the sexes were most marked at the very top and bottom sections of the educational hierarchy. However, in the senior departments of elementary schools there was no clearly defined sexual division of labour and hence, the relationship between the sexes was more ambivalent and complex. In order to explain this point more fully, the next section will examine the close interaction between the sexes in the certificated sections of the educational ladder during the 1880s and 1890s.

1. Summary of evidence from School Board log books in Edinburgh Central Library 1872/1900.

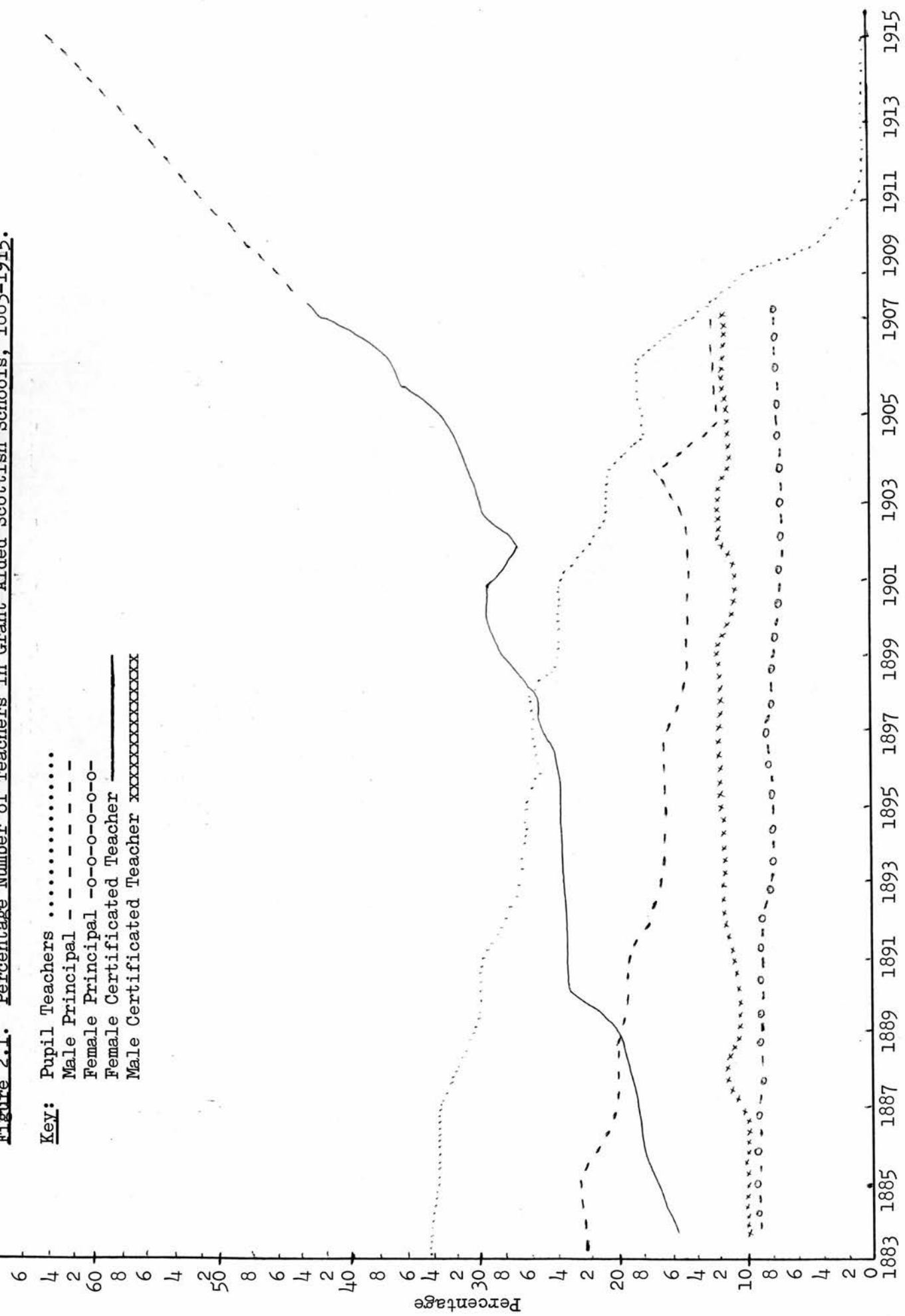
Section two: The impact of Feminisation on the Scottish Teaching Profession 1883-1905

It was in the occupational category of assistant certificated teacher that there was no clearly defined sexual division of labour. Indeed the most striking feature concerning its composition was that female assistant certificated teachers were numerically dominant in this sector of the hierarchy, in addition to the infant sector. One dynamic implication of the larger number of girls attending the training colleges during the 1870s was that the percentage of female teachers defined as certificated and skilled rose quite dramatically in contrast to boys. In fact, from the 1880s onwards male assistant certificated teachers remained a minority group in the profession. To illustrate these points, a statistical breakdown of the percentage number of male and female certificated teachers in Scottish grant aided schools, between 1883 and 1907, is cited below in Figure 2.1.¹ In addition, figure 2.1 also indicates the percentage number of pupil teachers in Scotland (although the sex ratio of this group was not included in the Privy Council's reports) between 1872 and 1915.

Figure 2.1 reveals that the number of male assistant certificated teachers remained relatively stable in comparison with the steady increase in the number of female teachers. In percentage terms, male assistant certificated teachers constituted 10.00 per cent in 1883 and 10.7 per cent in 1900. This provided a sharp contrast with the dynamic

1. Unfortunately the C.C.E.S. did not publish statistics on the percentage number of certificated teachers according to gender during the 1870s and thus it was only after 1883 that formal differentiation between the sexes was made in the Annual Reports.

Figure 2.1. Percentage Number of Teachers in Grant Aided Scottish Schools, 1883-1915.



Sources: See overleaf

Sources to Figure 2.1.

Annual Reports, 1883/1915; (a) PP 1883, Cmd.3707, Vol.XXVI,
Reports of the CCES, pp.7-23; (b) PP 1914/1916, Cmd.7928, Vol.XX,
Reports of the CCES, pp.5-41.

rise of female assistant certificated teachers into the profession; in 1883 they represented 15.6 per cent of the assistant certificated staff and by 1900 this figure has reached 30.0 per cent.¹ A major implication of these statistics was that female assistant certificated teachers were in direct competition for vacant teaching posts, which prior to 1872, had been the preserve of men. Consequently, it was in that sector of the occupational hierarchy that the maximum amount of interaction between the sexes took place.

Otherwise gender divisions at the very top of the occupational hierarchy were more clearly demarcated. For example, female principals did not pose a significant threat to the job prospects of male principals in elementary schools. Figure 2.1 demonstrated that throughout the period, a smaller number of female teachers acquired a headship in comparison with men. For example in 1883, 22 per cent of all men were principal teachers in elementary schools and the corresponding figure for females was 9 per cent. Meanwhile, at the very bottom of the occupational hierarchy the C.C.E.S. did not publish statistics on the sex ratio of unqualified teachers and hence it has proven impossible to include a gender breakdown of pupil teachers in figure 2.1.²

However, evidence from School Board Minutes selected at random would suggest that female teachers predominated not only in the certificated sections

1. It should be noted that the absence of statistics in figure 2.1 between 1908 and 1914, was due to the altered format of the C.C.E.S. reports after 1908. As a result, the commissioners omitted to publish reliable and consistent annual statistics on male and female certificated teachers in the Scottish parliamentary reports. However, for the year 1914 statistics on the number of female assistant certificated teachers were printed and they indicated that the latter constituted approximately 70 per cent of the teaching staff in Scotland.
2. op.cit., figure 2.1.

of the occupational hierarchy but also in the untrained sections - as uncertificated assistants¹ and pupil teachers. For example, in Glasgow in 1879, female pupil teachers outnumbered their male counterparts by 246 to 89 respectively.² A similar picture was prevalent in the neighbouring school board district of Govan; by 1903 there were 194 female pupil teachers and 157 males in elementary schools.³ Fragmentary data on the rural school board localities suggests a comparable story; in the county of Argyll for instance, there were 103 female pupil teachers and 89 male apprentices in 1897.⁴ This evidence, though partial, would strongly suggest that a larger number of girls became pupil teachers than boys in Scotland during the late nineteenth century. It would also imply that girls displayed a more definite preference for a teaching career than boys. The logic of this assertion was that the majority of former female pupil teachers subsequently applied for a coveted place at a teacher training college.

Overall, the crucial affect of this process of feminisation was a sharp acceleration in the replacement of male entrants into teaching by females.

1. Ibid.

1902

2. For citation on the number of female uncertificated assistants between 1897 and 1907, see section three of this chapter, p. 79. 79 These statistics confirmed that a substantially larger number of female uncertificated Assistants existed in comparison with males during those years in Scottish elementary schools.

3. Minutes of the Glasgow School Board, 2 January 1879: Glasgow City Archives (subsequent refs. G.C.A.) D/Ed/4/19.

4. Minutes of the Govan School Board, 1903, G.C.A. D/Ed/4/19.

By the mid 1880s the shortage of male candidates into the teaching profession became a source of increasing concern within educational circles. Anxieties became particularly acute amongst church officials; they realised that a trend was being firmly established in which large numbers of girls were applying for admission into the training colleges without a similar response from males. Thus in a determined effort to encourage male entry into the training colleges, the Free Church and the Church of Scotland opened their doors to male students at the Aberdeen training colleges in 1887. This proved to be an unsuccessful venture principally because of the exceptionally high rates of male entry into Aberdeen University caused as a direct result of the Dick Bequest Scheme in the three north eastern counties of Nairnshire, Banffshire and Aberdeenshire.¹

The high rates of male entry into Aberdeen University were accompanied by an exceptionally low rate of admission into the Aberdeen teacher training colleges. For example, in 1894, it was reported that 100 girls compared with only 12 boys applied for a place at an Aberdeen training college.² It is clear from the reports of the respective church authorities and the H.M.I.s that the shortage of male candidates into the teacher training colleges had reached a crisis point by the early 1890s. John Kerr, senior inspector of Scottish training colleges pointed out in his general report in 1893 that only 270 males applied for admission into the colleges compared with 1,123 females; out of that number only 137 males and 553 females were actually admitted.³

1. Minutes of the Argyll school board, 1897, G.C.A. D/ED/4/19.

2. For further information on the operation of the Dick Bequest Scheme in the north east of Scotland, see S.S. Laurie, Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest on the Rural, Public Schools of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray (Edinburgh 1890).

3. P.P. 1893/4 Cmnd. 1429, Vol. XXXI, Reports of C.C.E.S., 1893, p.1.

The heightened pitch of anxiety among church officials prompted a joint meeting of the educational committees of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church to discuss the scarcity of male entrants into the teaching profession.¹ They addressed a letter to the SED which contained the following heading: 'to direct attention to the Lords of Privy on the small number of male candidates and male teachers'.² They pointed out that the percentage of boys offering themselves for admission into teacher training colleges had fallen from 80 per cent in 1890 to 48 per cent in 1894.³ Their letter concluded by emphasising that the supply of male teachers was hopelessly inadequate to meet the demand.

Dr. Ross, Rector of Glasgow Church of Scotland training college, wrote another letter to the SED in which he described the perceived consequences of the scarcity of male entrants into the Scottish teaching profession.⁴ In his view there were 'two evils' resulting from this situation; firstly, that the 'education committee was forced to admit additional young women to fill the vacancies in the training colleges' and, secondly, 'women would now have to be employed in the advanced classes with a consequent decline in the numbers taught Latin and maths'.⁵ In accounting for the shortage of male candidates, Dr. Ross laid stress on two factors: (a) the falling rate of male pupil teachers in Scotland, and (b) the raising of entry qualifications into the training colleges.⁶ Both factors, in his view, aided the

1. Reports of E.C.C.S. Vol. XIV 1894/6, December 1894, p.15.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Reports of the E.C.C.S. Vol. XVI, May 1896, p.6.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

recruitment of males into other occupations such as the civil service, banking and clerical administration.¹

His attack on the large participation of female teachers in the workforce represented a definite shift in attitude from the 1870s when the entry of female teachers was encouraged by senior church officials. The change in their attitudes during the 1890s was undoubtedly due to the scarcity of male entrants into teaching on the one hand, and the currently high rate of female recruitment on the other. It was accompanied by their fears that the larger supply of female teachers was in danger of becoming a long term phenomenon.² Correspondingly, they perceived that the scarcity of male entrants would result in a serious drop in educational standards in Scotland.

Certainly, in terms of the numerical strength of women teachers, the anxieties of senior church officials were well founded: by 1901, women teachers numbered 17,374 compared with only 8,040 men.³ These figures served as a blunt reminder that a career in teaching was no longer a male preserve in Scotland and that women's numerical presence in the profession was a staunch one. Overall, therefore, the 1890s marked

1. There is sufficient empirical evidence to support this thesis. For example, in 1891 there were approximately 48,420 male clerks in Scotland and in 1901 the figure was 51,175. See Table 1.3, Introduction, p.15.
2. By contrast, during the 1870s, many church officials had genuinely believed that the large scale employment of women teachers was a temporary occurrence. For example, the demand for their services was assessed in the following manner in 1874: 'Now that the prejudices ... have given way, it is not to be wondered at that there should be so great a demand for the services of school mistresses and the demand may be expected to continue as now for a few years.' (my italics) Reports of E.C.C.S. Vol. VIII 1874/6, Appendix III, April 1875, p.47.
3. op.cit., Table 1.2, Introduction, p.14.

the completion of the transitional phase in which the teaching profession shifted from being predominantly male to one which became largely comprised of women.

It was also during this period that increasing complaints were registered amongst H.M.I.s concerning the professional qualifications of teachers on the one hand, and the role of the churches in the training college system on the other. Some H.M.I.s openly admitted that it was girls, in particular, who were denied the opportunity of acquiring a professional qualification because of the defects in the provision of training college accommodation. For example, John Kerr complained in 1893:

I have again to refer to the unsatisfactory conditions that regulate the admission of female students to training colleges.¹

The case for male students presents no difficulty as there is room for them all ... but ... In one Free Church college no (female) candidate could be admitted below 184 on the general list and a number of first class candidates were refused ... Were the colleges not only subsidised but actually the property of Government instead of being under private management the remedy would be easy.²

Kerr's recommendation that the teacher training colleges should be transferred from the churches and placed under the central control of the SED did not occur until 1905.³ Before that date, the chief problem

-
1. Two years previously Kerr had pointed out the consequences of an inadequate teacher training system with respect to the larger contingent of female teachers who remained unskilled: 'There is room in all the colleges for an average of 150 males and 280 female candidates every year. There is therefore ... nearly 50 per cent of the latter who must either seek another profession or become teachers without the benefit of instruction in a training college.' P.P. 1891/92 Cmnd. 6751 Vol. XXXI, Reports of C.C.E.S. 1892, pp.3-4.
 2. P.P. 1893/4 Cmnd. 7429 Vol. XXXI, Reports of C.C.E.S., 1893, p.2.
 3. See section three of this chapter, pp.77-85.

which prevented the attainment of this goal was the failure of the Presbyterian churches and the SED to negotiate an amicable financial settlement on the transference of church property. Indeed during this interim period the SED sanctioned the opening of the first Catholic teacher training college for girls in Scotland; in 1895 the Notre Dame training college was established at Dowanhill, Glasgow.¹ The department's rationale for subsidising a Catholic college for females was articulated by John Kerr.

In view of the fact that two thirds of all female Catholic teachers are untrained and that the existing colleges are full, it cannot be doubted that further provision for training is desirable ... the maximum cost to the department would be £1,750.²

However, in spite of an additional training college the churches were still incapable of producing the number of certificated teachers desired by the SED.

By the early 1900s it was widely accepted within Presbytery and SED circles alike that a more fundamental remodelling of the system for the training of teachers was urgently required. This heightened sense of urgency was principally due to the expansion of educational provision in Scottish elementary and secondary schools during the last decades of the nineteenth century. For example, the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise Act) of 1890 (more commonly referred to as 'Whiskey

1. For further information on the history of the first Catholic teacher training college in Scotland see D. Gillies, A Pioneer of Catholic Teacher-Training in Scotland: Sister Mary of St. Wilfred (Liverpool, 1978).
2. SED correspondences between J. Kerr and H. Craik on the proposed opening of Notre Dame teacher training college, Glasgow, 22 September 1893, SED Papers, Miscellaneous, S.R.O. ED/7/2/2.

Money') fostered the growth of technical subjects such as chemistry, engineering and domestic science in Scotland.¹ The SED also encouraged the expansion of continuation classes and supplementary courses for school leavers and adults at evening classes.²

The result was that in spite of the churches' valiant efforts to expand their facilities (by the provision of laboratories and craftrooms) their financial resources were quite inadequate to meet current demands for new buildings such as well equipped kitchens for the training of domestic science students.³ Similarly, in the secondary school sector the demand for highly qualified teachers was also expanding. For example, by 1905, there were 87 secondary schools presenting candidates for the leaving certificate examination and 130 higher grade schools aiming at the intermediate certificate.⁴

The expansion of educational provision in Scotland further emphasised the fact that denominational control of the teacher training colleges had become completely outmoded. In 1904 the deadlock between the Presbyterian churches and the SED finally ended; Henry Craik (followed by John Struthers who replaced him that year) entered negotiations with church officials to seek a common financial agreement

1. Under this Act financial aid was given to school boards with the purpose of fostering the growth of technical subjects in Scotland. The financing of technical subjects partly derived from higher taxation on whiskey.
2. For example, by 1905 there was a total of 761 separate centres for continuation classes spread throughout Scotland. P.P. 1906 Cmd. 2942 Vol. XXX Reports of C.C.E.S. 1905, p.33.
3. For further information on the instruction of domestic science subjects see chapter five.
4. See M. Cruickshank, A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland (1970), p.134.

on the transference of church property and on the amount of religious instruction to be taught under the new training college system. By 1906, both parties had reached a formal financial settlement for the transference of the six Presbyterian training colleges in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen.¹ Amounts of compensation for college buildings were fixed at 10,000 to be paid to the United Free Church and 15,000 to the Church of Scotland. Both bodies were given guarantees for the continuance of religious instruction in the colleges.² Only the Episcopal and Catholic training colleges in Edinburgh and Glasgow opted to remain under denominational management in the fear that they might lose their religious autonomy.³

The placement of the Presbyterian teacher training colleges under the central control of the SED symbolised a new and important stage in the achievement of a national body of 'competent' teachers according to the terms laid down in the 1872 Act. Legislation was introduced in 1906 which dramatically reduced the number of unskilled female teachers in the profession. Therefore, the final section of this chapter will describe the relevant clauses of this new piece of legislation and its impact on broadening the academic opportunities of female teachers in terms of acquiring a professional skill in Scotland.

1. However the Presbyterian churches had already relinquished their control over the training colleges in 1905, and as a result, the SED introduced national legislation for the training of teachers that year. See section three of this chapter for further details of the new scheme.
2. M. Cruickshank, op.cit., p.138.
3. D. Gillies, op.cit., pp.51-78.

Section Three: The New Regulations for the Training of Teachers
1905-1914

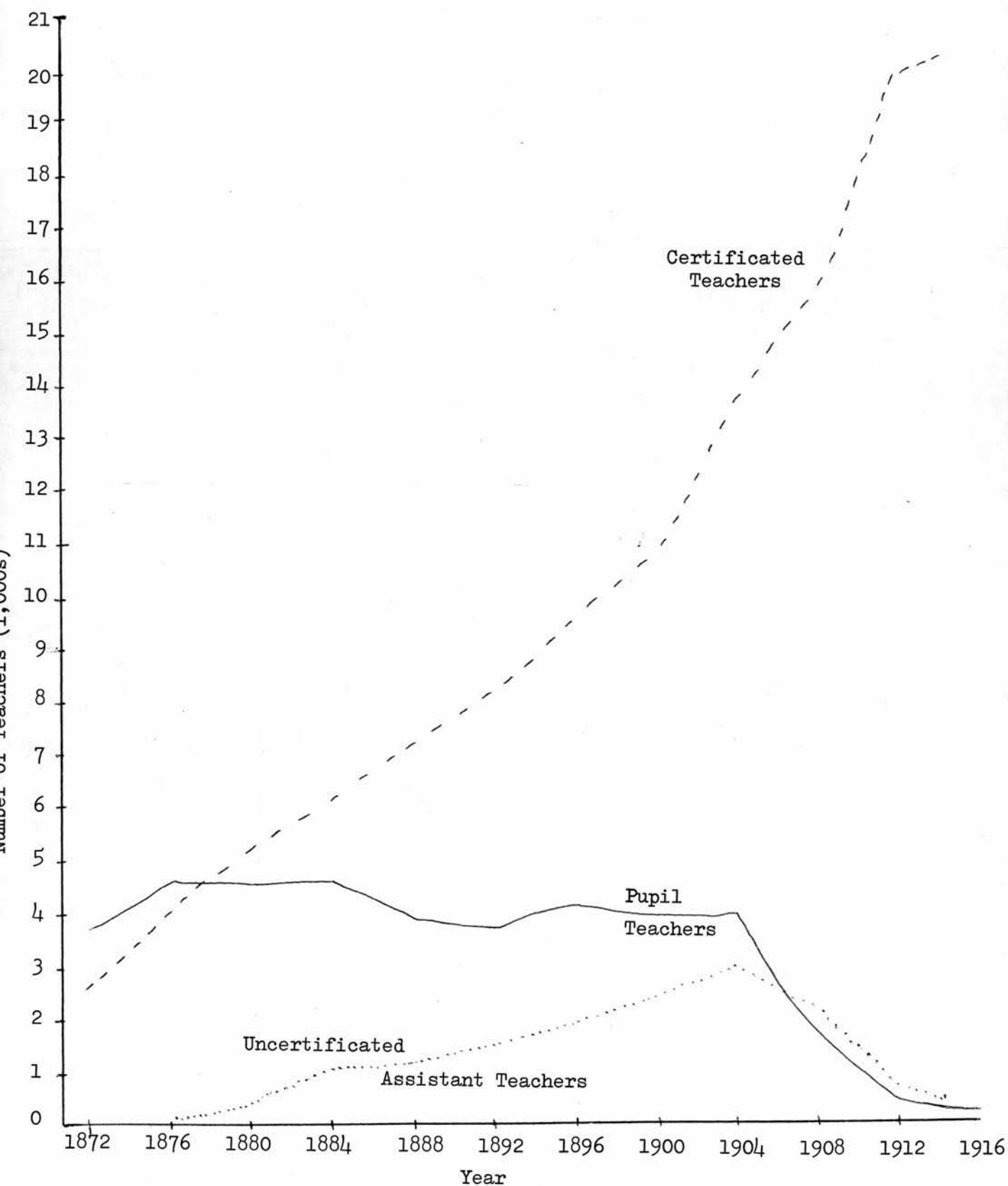
By a minute of 30 January 1905, the entire organisation of teacher training in Scotland was transformed. In the University cities of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, provincial committees were established under the auspices of the SED, and their chief task was to supervise the training of teachers at the respective training centres in each of those cities.¹ Each local provincial committee contained representatives from the school boards, the Presbyterian churches, the Scottish Universities and secondary schools.² Following the establishment of these local committees, the SED issued the 'New Regulations for the preliminary education, training, and certification of teachers' in 1906.³ The fundamental aim of the New Regulations was expressed thus:

The point which we now have in mind is this: from 1913 on, no person will be admitted to the profession of teaching in Scotland who has not (a) reached a high standard of general education and (b) been properly trained for his work.⁴

To achieve this goal, the department made a list of provisions which involved the elimination of all untrained teachers and their replacement by certificated teachers. A major step in this direction was taken with the abolition of the pupil teacher system. The Department pronounced that after 1915, pupil teachers and uncertificated assistants

1. For a full summary of the inauguration of the provincial committees, consult the Reports of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers 1905/7, Vols. 1 and 2, S.R.O. ED/51.
2. See Reports of the Edinburgh Provincial Committee (subsequent refs. E.P.C.) Vol. 1, pp.1-63.
3. Ibid.
4. Professor Darrock at Edinburgh University: Reports of the E.P.C. Vol. 6, 1911, p.129.

Figure 2.2. Number of Teachers in Inspected Grant Aided Schools from 1872-1916.



Sources: Annual Reports 1872/1916; (a) PP 1872, Cmnd.812, Vol.XXIV, Reports of the CCES; (b) PP 1914/1916, Cmnd. 7928, Vol.XX, Reports of the CCES.

would no longer be considered as teachers.¹ This provision had a particularly profound effect on unskilled female teachers since they outnumbered their male counterparts. For example, between 1898 and 1907, there was a total of 3,831 Acting (meaning uncertificated) female teachers in Scotland compared with only 78 males.² Hence after 1906, all unskilled teachers who had already received teaching posts were presented with the opportunity of acquiring a certificate by passing an examination called the Acting Teachers' Examination. In these transitional years, the H.M.I.s were influential in encouraging female teachers to enter this examination. As A.E. Scougal, Chief Inspector of training centres, explained in 1907:

The more of them who come forward the sooner we shall eliminate the untrained element from the staffs of our schools and the more speedy will be the realisation of the ideal in the New Regulations that every teacher in a Scottish school shall be thoroughly trained.³

Female acting teachers were clearly quite prepared to enter the examination as witnessed by their dramatic fall in numbers to 58, by 1914. Indeed, overall, the SED was remarkably successful in the erosion of unskilled teachers from the profession.⁴ To illustrate this point, Figure 2.2 presents a comparative breakdown of the number of certificated and untrained teachers in Scotland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

1. Reports, op.cit., pp.1-63.

2. A.E. Scougal, Reports on the Training of Teachers 1905/14. Governmental Publications, 1916, located in National Library of Scotland (subsequent refs. N.L.S.) GEB/16.

3. P.P. 1907/8, Cmnd. 4149; Vol. XXIX, A.E. Scougal Annual Report on the Provincial Committees Training Centres 1907, Section 1, p.5.

4. However, uncertificated teachers were not completely eliminated from the teaching profession until the 1970s in Scotland.

Figure 2.2 clearly demonstrates that pupil teachers and uncertificated assistants remained an integral part of the labour force until 1905. Thereafter, there was a dramatic slump in the numbers of both groups. This was particularly true of pupil teachers; they plummeted from 4,000 in 1905 to approximately 500 by 1916. Figure 2.2 also reveals that there was a constant rise in the number of certificated teachers throughout the period under scrutiny. The major point of significance was that by the early twentieth century the vast majority of teachers contained within this group were comprised of women.¹ In percentage terms, they constituted approximately seventy percent of the total certificated teaching staff by 1916.

In this respect, the New Regulations were undoubtedly instrumental in expanding female opportunities for acquiring a professional skill. The principles underlying the new system for the training of teachers were comprehensive. There were two basic stages of preparation for teaching - the junior studentships from 15 to 18 (replacing the former pupil teacher apprenticeship), followed by a senior studentship at a provincial committee training centre.² It meant that successful candidates who gained the junior student certificate automatically acquired entry into a training centre,³ whereas under the former system, many successful female candidates who

1. See also Figure 2.1 in section two of this chapter.

2. M. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, pp.138-143.

3. For further information on the junior student system in Scotland see J. Wilson, *The Junior System* pp.191-242 in T.R. Bone (ed.), *Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939* (1967), pp.191-242.

were denied entry into a Presbyterian training college were forced to find an alternative job or else they sought employment as unskilled teachers in the profession.

Meanwhile, the opening of the Universities to women in 1894 created another vehicle for the latter to obtain a professional qualification.¹ Recent research on the position of women in Scottish Universities confirmed that the majority of female graduates subsequently found employment as teachers.² Moreover, since the provincial training centres were each located in a University city, closer liaison was established between the two educational institutions. Both sexes could undertake concurrent courses with a view to becoming teachers. For example in 1907, 227 males and 274 females from Glasgow University were studying specific subjects at the Glasgow provincial committee training centre with the hope of subsequently entering the teaching profession.³

The creation of new avenues in teacher training provision was reflected in the noticeable numerical increase of female students attending training centres. Featured below, is the total number of students attending the provincial committee training centres in Scotland between 1905 and 1914.

1. For further information on the entry of women into the Scottish Universities, see L. Moore, 'Aberdeen and the Higher Education of Women 1868-77', Aberdeen University Review No.163, Spring 1980.
2. This information is owed to Sheila Hamilton, forthcoming Ph.D on Women Graduates at Scottish Universities, Department of Economic History, University of Edinburgh.
3. Reports of the Glasgow Provincial Committee (subsequent refs. G.P.C.), Vol. 3, 1907, pp.91-93.

TABLE 2.2

Number of teacher training students at the four provincial committee training centres: Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1905-1914.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1905-6	360	1,035	1,395
1906-7	375	1,159	1,534
1907-8	606	2,138	2,744
1908-9	659	2,259	2,918
1909-10	654	2,043	2,697
1910-11	673	2,244	2,917
1911-12	566	2,313	2,879
1912-13	507	1,876	2,383
1913-14	508	2,062	2,570

Source: Statistics compiled from the Annual Reports of the four provincial committees, 1905/1914, 9 Vols, S.R.O. ED/51.

Overall, it can be seen that one year after the New Regulations had taken effect, the total number of students rose sharply from 1,534 in 1906 to 2,744.* Therafter, the intake of students into the provincial committee training centres was more stable. Table 2.2 / furthermore, provides conclusive evidence that female students overwhelmingly outnumbered their male counterparts at the training centres over that period. The significance of this statement is twofold: firstly, it was consistent with the pattern of feminisation established at the

*(the percentage increase of males and females being respectively 61.6% and 84.5%)

Presbyterian teacher training colleges during the course of the late nineteenth century. Secondly, the statistics confirmed that an unprecedented number of girls were finally guaranteed the opportunity of acquiring a teaching certificate under the centralised control of the SED.

By the outbreak of the First World War, therefore, the majority of female teachers were certificated and skilled in the terms laid down by the ~~Scotch Code~~ since 1872. This was a unique phenomenon in Britain; according to Pamela Horn's research on English school teachers, uncertificated females comprised approximately forty-one percent of the teaching staff in 1914.¹

The advancement of female teachers' skills in Scotland was a remarkable feat, especially in view of the severe obstacles which confronted them in their bid to acquire a certificate. Perhaps the greatest hurdle concerned the sex discrimination in the allocation of bursary allowances to students at the teacher training colleges. All male students received bursary allowances valued at up to £25 per annum whereas females as a rule rarely received an allowance exceeding £18 per annum.²

1. P. Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914 (New York, 1971), p.112.
2. For further information on this point, consult the Annual Reports on the Scottish teaching colleges by the H.M.I.s between 1873 and 1905: Reports of the C.C.E.S.

It must also be remembered that a considerable number of girls who had successfully passed the admission examination only acquired entry on the strict condition that they promised to be self financed. Neither the Department nor the church authorities volunteered an official explanation for the discriminatory practice between the sexes. Even after the introduction of the New Regulations, the practice of sex inequality in the allocation of bursaries was maintained. Male students received an annual allowance of £35 and the corresponding sum for girls was £30.¹ Consequently, it was in spite of these financial constraints, that the majority of girls managed to acquire a teaching certificate in Scotland.

In conclusion, it has been argued that female teachers as a rule displayed a definite willingness to acquire a professional skill but that the internal discord between the SED and church officials actually inhibited their academic achievements. Furthermore, it was only as a result of major changes in educational policy in 1905 that this situation was transformed; thereafter, female opportunities for acquiring a professional qualification underwent an unprecedented expansion. Two particular themes emerged in the course of this analysis. Firstly, that few policy makers would have predicted in 1872 that the short term

 1. For further discussion on self financed students, see Chapter three, section three, pp. 134-5.

policy of encouraging females to enter the teaching profession would have resulted in a long term practice. Secondly, although the 1872 Education Act resulted in the expansion of employment opportunities for women, it had definite repercussions for the development of gender divisions at the work place (i.e. the school). In this respect, another long term consequence of the 1872 Act was the reinforcement of occupational divisions between the sexes in the infant sector of elementary schools.

Overall, this information poses two crucial questions. Firstly, was the increase in the standard of female qualifications and superiority in numbers, synonymous with an equal measure of economic and social status with their male counterparts? Alternatively, was the vast employment of women teachers directly linked to the notion that they could provide a cheap source of labour, in spite of obtaining similar teaching qualifications as men?

These thematic questions are pursued in the next chapter with an analysis of the relationship between gender, skill, and sex differentials in teachers' pay in Scotland.

CHAPTER THREE

SEX DIFFERENTIALS IN TEACHERS' PAY: 1872-1954

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

In the eyes of many male teachers, a strong correlation was perceived to exist between skill, pay and gender, in relation to the labour market. Their contention was that female teachers were unskilled and as a result were cheaper to employ than males. In accordance with this view, they argued persuasively that women were undercutting men's wages and hence undermining their ^{own} economic status within the teaching profession. An ardent proponent of these views was Charles McDonald, an Assistant certificated teacher, and member of the EIS. According to his hypothesis:

The male Assistant ... has had to struggle against a downward tendency in wages caused by a continual importation of unskilled (female) labour into the market in practically unlimited quantities. Under the stress of these conditions, a reaction has begun. The profession as a means of earning a livelihood is falling into comparative disrepute and men of ability are turning their talents to other and more profitable work.¹

This chapter seeks to evaluate the validity of McDonald's claim by establishing the degree and nature of pay inequality between the sexes in teaching. In doing so, it examines variables such as qualifications, age and length of service in teaching, as a means of assessing whether or not sex differentials in pay were actually determined by those factors rather than on the

-
1. C. McDonald, The Position of Assistant Teachers: The Professional Outlook, Educational News 5, January 1894, pp.56-60.

primary criteria of gender. Apart from examining the economic relationship between the sexes, the analysis also focuses on the role of employers in generating pay disparities amongst male and female teachers of the same occupational status. This is with the view of providing some explanation as to why ^{the} teachers' wage ^{issue} / was a fundamental grievance of both sexes rather than being peculiar to women. The varied responses of each sex to the issue of pay (as well as equal pay) will be investigated more fully in the discussion on the EIS.¹

Specifically, section one analyses the degree of pay inequality between the sexes with particular reference to the mean annual wages of certificated teachers in elementary and denominational schools throughout Scotland between 1872 and 1914.

Section two describes the role of employers and the nature of their close involvement in teachers' remuneration. It investigates the salary scales of each sex at the time of entering the board's employment with the view of establishing whether or not employers pursued a policy of economic and sex discrimination at that stage of a girl's career cycle.

The final section of this chapter analyses the perceptions and attitudes of male educational policy makers on the subject of sex discrimination in teachers' pay. Particular emphasis is placed on the concept of marriage and the family wage, since both dimensions assumed growing relevance to this subject in the

1. See chapter four, section four, pp.182-98.

eyes of contemporaries during the late nineteenth century.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Before expanding on these themes of investigation, it must be stressed at the outset that a comparative study on wages between the sexes presents acute methodological problems. One of the chief problems relates to the fragmentation and paucity of relevant source material on teachers' wages. This is reflected in the absence of a central body of documents containing reliable information on the incomes of teachers throughout the period under scrutiny.¹ It has meant relying on more scattered evidence on wage statistics for random years in Scotland.

The deficiencies in wage data are most clearly exemplified in the reports of various school board authorities. In theory, each school board was required to record the minutes of meetings and to make regular reports on current topics such as teachers' wages and non-attendance school rates amongst children. In practice, however, several boards failed to comply with these requirements and as a result information on wages in these reports was often scanty and unsystematic. This was particularly true of

1. Since the key purpose is to establish the existence and nature of sex inequality in teachers' pay, an analysis of real earnings of occupational groups is outside the scope of this particular study. There is however, an extensive number of publications relating to the standard of living debate during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See, T.R. Gourvish, The Standard of Living 1890-1914, in A.O. Day (ed.), The Edwardian Age: Conflict and Stability 1900-1914 (1979), pp.13-34; A.L. Bowley, Wages and Income in the United Kingdom Since 1860 (Cambridge 1937); E.H. Phelps Brown and M. Browne, A Century of Pay (1968); E.H. Phelps Brown, The Growth of British Industrial Relations (1959); B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge 1962); J.W.F. Rose, Wages in Practice and Theory (1928).

the smaller school boards where there appears to have been a greater tendency to avoid the task of compiling comprehensive statistics over a long time-span. Likewise, many boards failed to print or publish their annual reports whilst other minute books have been completely destroyed.¹ This has resulted in major gaps in wage data and, inevitably, it has meant relying on more comprehensive reports like those of the Glasgow and Edinburgh school boards.

An additional complication is that very little official documentation exists on the methods used by commissioners to collect data on teachers' wages from each school board in different regions of Scotland. For example, information on the amount of rent-free accommodation towards supplementing a teacher's income in rural areas, as compared with urban districts, was frequently not stipulated in the Privy Council's Annual Reports on wages.² Similarly, other variables such as age and previous teaching experience, were not recorded in the methods used by the commissioners to calculate a teacher's income. As a result, it is virtually impossible to give a very precise breakdown of a teacher's salary at the time of their appointment.³

-
1. For example, the Annual Reports of the Leith School Board cannot be traced for the early 1870s.
 2. Full title is the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland.
 3. Having said that, a close approximation of the salaries of twenty-four individual teachers at the time of entering the Glasgow School Board's employment is cited in section two of this chapter, p. 122.

Overall, therefore, the data on teachers' wages is fragmentary but for the primary objective of assessing the nature and degree of pay inequality between the sexes, a sufficient body of evidence does exist within acceptable margins of error.

Section one: Pay Inequality between the Sexes in Teaching:
1872-1914

The Privy Council on education published statistics on the mean annual salaries of certificated teachers (Principal and Assistant) in Scotland, between 1873 and 1914; these statistics are featured below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Percentage Ratio of Mean Annual Salaries
of Certificated Teachers in Scottish
Grant Aided Schools: 1873-1914

Year Beginning	Men £	Women £	%
1873	110	58	53
1874	121	64	53
1875	-	-	-
1876	-	-	-
1877	135	72	53
1878	137	72	53
1879	139	72	52
1880	138	71	51
1881	138	69	50
1882	136	67	49
1883	135	66	49
1884	135	66	49
1885	135	65	48
1886	135	65	48
1887	135	64	47
/1888			

Table 3.1 Continued

Year Beginning	Men £	Women £	%
1888	134	63	47
1889	133	63	47
1890	133	62	47
1891	133	62	47
1892	136	63	46
1893	136	64	47
1894	138	65	47
1895	140	67	48
1896	140	67	48
1897	142	68	48
1898	142	69	49
1899	143	70	49
1900	143	70	49
1901	146	72	49
1902	147	73	50
1903	148	74	50
1904	149	76	51
1905	151	77	51
1906	153	79	52
1907	154	80	52
1908	157	81	52
1909	159	83	52
1910	160	83	51
1911	161	84	52
1912	163	84	52
1913	163	87	53
1914	163	87	53

Sources: Annual Reports 1873/1914; P.P. 1872/73 Cmnd. 812, Vol. XXIV, Reports of the C.C.E.S., pp.6-20;
P.P. 1914/16 Cmnd. 7392, Vol. XXIX, Reports of the C.C.E.S., pp.3-56.

An overall view of these parliamentary statistics demonstrates very clearly that the mean wage of women certificated teachers, was generally half^{that} of male teachers in Scotland.

For example, in 1873, the mean wage of male certificated teachers was £110, whereas the mean wage for female teachers was only £58; 53% of the male figure. In 1914, this picture did not display any striking contrast; the mean wage of male certificated teachers was £163 and the corresponding figure for women was £87. Table 3.1 would indicate, therefore, that whilst there was some improvement in the mean wages of female certificated teachers, ^{women} were consistently underpaid in comparison with their male counterparts throughout the period under scrutiny. More specifically, in the transitional period following the introduction of the 1872 Act, the mean wages of both sexes showed a marked improvement but this was followed by a levelling off in their wages towards the end of the 1870s. In accounting for this phenomenon, Charles W. Wilson, Senior Inspector of Scottish Training Colleges, drew a close correlation between the oversupply of female labour on the one hand, and the subsequent downward trend in teachers' salaries on the other. In his view,

After the introduction of the new educational system in 1872, the demand for trained teachers exceeded the supply and salaries rose rapidly. There was a rush into the teaching profession especially on the female side, the market became

overstocked and the salaries obeying the ordinary¹ law of supply and demand began to fall.

Wilson's explanation may go some way towards explaining why the gap in wage differentials between the sexes widened during the 1880s and 1890s. After 1900, the numbers of women teachers in the profession stabilised (see Figure 2.1, p.67) and this could provide one plausible explanation why the gap in wage differentials between the sexes narrowed again.

However, although Table 3.1 provides an overall indication of pay inequality between the sexes, it disguises the enormous variations in the mean salaries of teachers in Scottish elementary schools. In this respect, the analysis of wage differentials between the sexes becomes more complex when the mean wages of teachers who were employed under the various religious organisations are added for consideration. A comparison of the differences in the mean wages of teachers in denominational schools should serve to highlight this heterogeneity in salaries, which existed not only between the sexes, but also amongst male and female teachers respectively. Cited below in Table 3.2, are the mean annual wages of teachers in denominational and state elementary schools for the years 1874, 1894 and 1904.

1. P.P. 1879/1880, Cmd. 2563, Vol. XXIV, Reports of the C.C.E.S., 1879, pp.210-11.

Table 3.2.¹ Percentage Ratio of Mean Annual Salaries
of Teachers in Denominational and Scottish
State Elementary Schools: 1874, 1894, and
1904.

Schools	1874			1894			1904		
	Male	Female	%	Male	Female	%	Male	Female	%
Public	125	62	50	138	65	47	150	62	49
Church of Scotland	116	66	57	133	69	52	116	66	57
Free Church	123	63	51	128	-	-	123	63	51
Episcopal	98	63	64	149	67	45	98	63	64
Catholic	89	64	72	107	71	66	89	64	72

Sources: P.P. 1874/5, Cmnd. 1266, Vol. XXVI, Reports of the
C.C.E.S., 1874, Appendix II, p.270; P.P. 1894/5, Cmnd. 7816,
Vol. XXX, Reports of the C.C.E.S., 1894, Appendix II,
p.270; P.P. 1904/5, Cmnd. 2521, Vol. XXIX, Reports of
the C.C.E.S., 1904, Appendix II, p.680.

Table 3.2 demonstrates the existence of pay inequality between the sexes in schools under the control of the respective churches during this forty-year interval. For example in 1904, the mean wage for ~~women teachers~~ under the control of the Free Church was 51 per cent of that for men, the corresponding figure being £63 and £123 respectively.

At the same time, the statistics would strongly suggest that the gap in wage differentials between male teachers was much wider and more extreme than the mean wages of females. It can be seen that the gap in the mean wages of men in denominational

-
1. Table 3.2 aptly illustrates the unreliability of wage data in the official parliamentary reports. For example, the mean wage of £125 for male teachers in public schools in 1874, was actually higher than the statistics previously cited for that year in Table 3.1. Similarly, the mean wages of male teachers in Episcopal and Catholic schools in 1894, hardly seem credible in relation to the statistics quoted in 1904. Nevertheless, although the accuracy of these wage statistics is contestable, they do provide an overall indication of the anomalies in mean wages of both sexes depending on their respective employers.

schools ranged widely between £89 and £149, with considerable fluctuations over the thirty year period. These extreme

variations in mean wages would indicate that the type of religious educational establishment in which male teachers were employed could be crucial in terms of the wages that they could expect to receive from their employers.

For example, the mean salaries of male teachers in Catholic schools were substantially lower in comparison with the other denominations. As Table 3.2 indicates, the mean wage of male teachers employed in Catholic schools was £89 in 1904, compared with £116 in the Church of Scotland schools, and £123 in the Free Church schools. Martha Skinnider's research on teachers' wages in Catholic elementary schools in Glasgow provides further supportive evidence on this point;¹ in 1911, male teachers in Catholic schools received £44 lower than the mean wage of males employed in school board schools. Meanwhile, the difference for women teachers in Catholic schools was £7 lower compared with the Glasgow board schools.²

This evidence would suggest that the mean wages between male teachers displayed sharp variations according to the type of educational establishment, and on their employers, whereas the difference in the mean wages of women teachers were much less marked. It can be seen from Table 3.2 that the mean wages of

1. M. Skinnider, Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818-1918, in T.R. Bone (ed.), Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939 (1967), pp.39-40.

2. Ibid.

female teachers clustered in the bracket between £62 and £71, during the thirty year period thus suggesting that they could not expect to have the same economic prospects as men. Overall, the statistics firmly highlight that the gap between the sexes was extensive and that unequal pay for women teachers was a fundamental characteristic within every denominational organisation in Scotland.

Further complexities arise when regional variations in the mean wages of the sexes are added for discussion; there is some statistical evidence which would suggest that there were vast regional differences in the mean wages between the sexes, which were disguised in the national figures presented in table one. To illustrate this point, Table 3.3 compares the mean salaries between the sexes in several school board districts throughout Scotland for the year 1911.

Table 3.3. Percentage Ratio of Mean Salaries of Teachers under Twenty-Seven School Board Districts in Scotland 1911.

School Board Districts	Male	Female	%
Aberdeen	145	76	52
Edinburgh	159	84	53
Lanark	130	93	72
Haddington	117	78	67
Dumbarton	156	85	54
Linlithgow	147	97	66
Argyll	123	77	63
Ayr	150	85	57
Banff	140	78	56
Berwick	137	90	66
Bute	126	80	63
/Caithness			

Table 3.3 Continued

School Board Districts	Male	Female	%
Caithness	133	78	59
Dumfries	137	86	63
Elgin	138	70	51
Fife	143	75	52
Forfar	137	72	53
Kincardine	143	88	62
Kinross	137	90	66
Kirkcudbright	134	88	66
Nairn	142	70	49
Orkney	110	76	69
Ross	121	80	66
Roxburgh	134	83	62
Selkirk	120	70	58
Stirling	140	85	61
Sutherland	122	76	62
Wigtown	140	82	59
Mean Wage	<u>135</u>	<u>81</u>	

Source: EIS, Rural Teachers' Committee; Summary 1911, S.R.O. Ref. GD342/1/13 and 14, p.229.¹

The overall significance of Table 3.3 is that it provides conclusive evidence of the existence of pay inequality between the sexes in every school board district under scrutiny for 1911. Here it can be seen that the mean wage of women teachers was substantially lower in comparison with their male counterparts. Having said that,

-
1. This committee had been set up under the auspices of the EIS to compare the mean wages received by teachers in rural and urban school board districts throughout Scotland. Its purpose was to examine the basis for economic discontent amongst both sexes; for further discussion of this point see chapter four, section four, pp.182-98.

there were also striking regional differences in the degree of pay inequality, which existed not only between the sexes, but amongst male and female teachers respectively.

Generally speaking, two distinctive features concerning differentials in teachers' pay are revealed in Table 3.3. . Firstly, the mean wage of male teachers was generally lower in Table 3.3 , than the national mean figure of £161 for 1911 (see Table 3.1). This was particularly noticeable in the mean salaries received by males in some rural areas throughout Scotland. For example, Table 3.3 shows that the lowest mean salary was £110 for male teachers employed in the remote Orkney Isles. Likewise, in other rural areas such as Ross, Sutherland, Selkirk and Bute, the mean salaries of males were considerably lower in comparison with the cities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

However, this statement must be qualified by pointing out that in many other school board districts, there were no sharp differences between urban and rural areas; in the north eastern district of Banff, for instance, the mean salaries of male teachers was £140.¹ This evidence would suggest that the variation in mean wages was not purely an urban-rural phenomenon but one which varied in accordance with school board practice in different regions throughout Scotland. Moreover, it will be argued in due course that it was precisely these vast regional variations in

1. See Table 3.3.

the salaries of male teachers which was to invoke much embitterment within the profession.¹

The second point relates to female teachers. In contrast to males, the mean wage of female teachers in rural and urban areas was frequently higher than the national figure of £82 in 1911 (see Table 3.1). For instance, Table 3.3 reveals that in remote school board districts such as Kinross, and Kincardine, the mean wage of women ranged between £86 and £94. Likewise, in urban districts such as Lanark, in the west coast of Scotland, and Linlithgow, in the Lowlands region, their mean salary was as high as £97 in 1911. On the other hand, Table 3.3 also serves to highlight the other extremes in the mean wages of women under several individual school boards. By stark contrast, in areas such as Nairn, Selkirk, Forfar and Dumfries, their mean salaries were significantly lower than the national figure.²

Overall, therefore, the evidence on female teachers' wages would further support the claim that the vast regional differences in wages, was not simply an urban-rural phenomenon but rather one which varied in accordance with the policies of individual school boards throughout Scotland. The reasons for the sharp divergencies in school board policies will be reviewed in section two of this chapter.

1. Chapter four, op.cit., pp. 182-98.

2. See Table 3.3.

The analysis has hitherto concentrated on the mean wages between the sexes within Scottish elementary schools and no reference has yet been made to the economic position of female teachers in secondary schools. However, a comparison of the mean wages between the sexes in secondary schools is rendered difficult precisely because of the numerical under-representation of females in this sector of the occupational hierarchy during the late nineteenth century.¹ Not unexpectedly, therefore, wage data containing information on female teachers is sparse for this period. However, with the ^{more rapid} development of secondary education during the early decades of the twentieth century,² a growing minority of female teachers did enter into this sector and by 1915 the commissioners had begun to publish parliamentary statistics on the mean wages of secondary school teachers according to gender. A summary of these wage statistics for the year 1914 can be found in Tables 3.4 and 3.5.

-
1. For a fuller analysis on the provision of secondary school education in Scotland, see M. Fim, *Social Efficiency Progressivism and Secondary Education, in Scotland, 1885-1905*, in W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson, (eds.), Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980 (Edinburgh 1983), pp.175-197; and also R. Anderson, 'Complete and Austere Institutions: Scottish Secondary Schools in the late Nineteenth Century' (unpublished paper, Univ. of Edin., 1983).
 2. See H.M. Paterson, *Incubus and Ideology: The Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland, 1900-1939*, in W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson (eds.), op.cit., pp.197-216.

Selected Number of
AGE and Mean Annual Salaries of/Principal and Assistant
Certificated Teachers in Scottish State Aided Secondary
and Higher Grade Schools: 1914.

Table 3.4. Females

Age	Principal Mean Salary	No.	Assistant Mean Salary	No.	Total No.	Total Mean Salary
20-25	-	-	97	95	95	97
25-30	114	4	101	309	313	92
30-35	136	6	111	198	204	101
35-40	139	6	123	139	145	112
40-45	150	1	113	88	89	123
45-50	212	8	127	53	61	114
	£150	25	£112	882	907	£107

Table 3.5. Males

Age	Principal Mean Salary	No.	Assistant Mean Salary	No.	Total No.	Total Mean Salary
20-25	-	-	129	92	92	129
25-30	202	3	144	369	372	145
30-35	232	9	164	370	379	166
35-40	316	37	180	295	332	195
40-45	318	35	211	201	236	227
45-50	395	47	217	125	172	256
	£293	131	£174	1,452	1,583	£186

Source: P.P. 1914/16, Cmd. 8115, Vol. LII, Accounts and Papers, 1914, Teachers' Salaries, p.285.

The striking conclusion which can be drawn from Tables 3.4 and 3.5, was that the pattern of sex inequality in teachers' pay

which pervaded the elementary school sector, was also prevalent in Scottish secondary and higher grade schools in 1914. The mean wage of headmasters was almost double that paid to headmistresses - men received £29³/₄, whereas the mean salary for women was only £150. Furthermore, female assistant teachers in secondary schools also received lower remuneration than males; the figures were £11²/₄ and £17¹/₄ respectively.

The statistics also throw some light on factors such as age and promotion in relation to teachers' remuneration. During the same period of service in teaching, women were extremely unlikely to be rewarded with equal remuneration on a similar basis to men. The distribution in the age structure of head teachers would support this point, over an interval of twenty-five years (aged between 25 and 50) the mean wage for women was approximately £150 compared with £29³/₄ for men.¹ Furthermore, the figures also suggest that promotion to a headship did not necessarily result in a dramatic increase in salary for women and it could therefore be argued that there was little economic incentive for female assistants to pursue a long-term career in teaching. In support of this claim, it can be seen that the difference in the mean salaries of female assistants and headmistresses were actually quite narrow in

1. See tables 3.4 and 3.5.

comparison with those of men. For example, the figures for women were £112 and £150 respectively, whereas the corresponding statistics were £17 $\frac{1}{4}$ for male assistants, and £293 for headmasters.

Notably, in spite of the better long-term economic prospects for male assistants, there was a steady decline in their number from the age of thirty-five onwards. This was possibly due to the relatively small number of headships in secondary and higher grade schools in Scotland during this period.¹ It effectively meant that deputy male assistants potentially had to wait several years for a headmaster to retire or resign from his post. Hence the demoralising prospect of lifelong assistantship, accompanied by their lack of economic recognition, may be two important factors in accounting for their decline in numbers.² The sharper drop in the number of female assistants from the age of thirty onwards is more comprehensible.³ Access to headships in Scottish secondary and higher grade schools were even fewer and more restricted for women given that there were only twenty-five headmistresses in such schools in 1914. In view of the tiny number of headships,

1. Ibid.

2. Certainly, this was the conviction expressed by Assistant teacher, Charles McDonald, already quoted in this chapter, p. 86.

3. See Table 3.4.

it can be surmised that the aspirations of female assistants in secondary schools were inhibited at an earlier stage of their career cycle than their male counterparts.

The analysis has hitherto centred entirely on the mean wage as a statistical method of ascertaining the degree and nature of pay inequality between the sexes. One of the major drawbacks of relying on the mean wage is that it provides little indication of the overall distribution in salaries earned by the majority of teachers over a long timespan. With the aid of parliamentary statistics, however, some information can be gleaned on the distribution of wages received by the majority of certificated teachers in elementary schools between 1883 and 1903. Unfortunately, no precise measure of central tendency was published with this information but it is possible to construe with some accuracy, the modal point for each group and to determine the overall differences between their distribution. A summary of these statistics is featured below in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6¹ Percentage Distribution of Salaries
of Certificated Teachers in Inspected Grant
Aided Schools 1883-1903.

MALE ASSISTANTS

Year	50 £ and under	50-75	75-100	100-150	150-200	200-300	No. of Teachers
1883	1.81	35.41	38.58	18.89	4.07	1.24	884
1893	0.64	22.92	41.37	28.64	5.09	1.34	1,571
1903	-	-	18.75	65.20	11.84	3.0	2,127

/Female

-
1. Due to the altered format of the Annual Reports of the Privy Council on Education after 1907, the statistics on the percentage distribution of salaries of certificated teachers for 1913, have been omitted in Table 3.6

Table 3.6 ContinuedFEMALE ASSISTANTS

Year	50 £ and under	50-75	75-100	100-150	150-200	200-300	No. of Teachers
1883	17.91	62.96	15.83	3.06	.24	-	1,636
1893	16.72	65.09	13.98	4.07	.09	.09	3,362
1903	1.82	62.17	26.43	8.43	.07	-	6,379

MALE PRINCIPALS

Year	50 £ and under	50-75	75-100	100-150	150-200	Over 200	No. of Teachers
1883	1.54	8.02	15.49	33.40	20.25	26.60	2,395
1893	0.65	5.67	13.74	30.01	20.63	27.63	2,293
1903	-	2.36	8.20	37.43	22.00	30.00	2,327

FEMALE PRINCIPALS

Year	50 £ and under	50-75	75-100	100-150	150-200	Over 200	No. of Teachers
1883	7.81	50.45	26.83	12.11	2.30	.50	999
1893	9.01	50.46	26.23	11.66	1.55	.97	1,098
1903	0.48	33.68	41.05	20.44	3.28	1.04	1,247

Sources: Annual Reports, 1883/1903, PP. 1883/84, Cmd. 3707,
Vol. XXVI, Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1883, pp.7-33;
P.P. 1903/04, Cmd. 2521, Vol. XXIX, Reports of the
C.C.E.S. 1903, pp.1-37.

It is evident from Table 3.6 that a wider gap existed between the incomes of male and female teachers than could be gleaned in the national statistics in Table 3.1. Specifically, the largest single proportion of female assistants fell into the wage bracket

£50 to £75 over the thirty year period. By contrast, there was a much wider distribution in the incomes of male assistants. During the 1880s and 1890s, they predominated in the wage bracket £50 to £100, but thereafter the majority of them earned between £100 and £150. Comparatively speaking therefore, the economic expectations of female assistants were far more sharply defined and more restricted than male assistants over a long timespan.

Moreover, the differences in salaries between male and female principal teachers in elementary schools were even more marked and extreme, particularly at the top of the salary scale; merely one per cent of female principals earned over £200 in 1903, compared with 33 per cent of the male certificated staff.¹ Overall, the significance of Table 3.6 is that it demonstrates quite clearly that the majority of female teachers (Principal and Assistant) were receiving below £100 in the early twentieth century, but that the majority of men received wages above that figure.

To conclude, therefore, the assertion made by Assistant teacher Charles McDonald at the beginning of this section,² that women could be employed at a cheaper rate than men, was in fact perfectly correct. However, his further contention that

1. See Table 3.6.

2. C. McDonald, op.cit., p. 86.

**PAGES
MISNUMBERED
IN
ORIGINAL**

female teachers were unskilled, and correspondingly, cheaper to employ, is highly disputable. From this statistical sample, it has been shown that in spite of obtaining a teaching certificate, the wages of female teachers were consistently lower in public, denominational and secondary schools. Moreover, McDonald ignored the crucial role that employers played in determining wage differentials between the sexes of the same occupational status. These two points are more fully developed in the next section. It focuses on the relationship between gender, pay, and the ~~status~~ status attached to the role of employers on the one hand and the attainment of academic skills by each sex in teaching on the other.

Section two: The Role of Employers and Sex Differentials
in Teachers' Pay 1872-1914.

The purpose of this section is to establish whether or not economic discrimination against female elementary school teachers existed in spite of achieving the same professional skills as their male counterparts. This involves a comparative analysis of the wages paid by employers, to male and female certificated teachers following their entry into an elementary school. However, before pursuing this specific line of inquiry, it would be appropriate to focus more generally on the role of school boards with reference to their close involvement in teachers' remuneration. This is with the ultimate view of highlighting the important role that school boards played in generating the extreme disparities in teachers' pay, irrespective of sex. In turn, this should provide some explanation as to why school boards, in their capacity as employers, became the objects of vehement attack amongst the rank and file within every teachers' association in Scotland.¹

Under the 1872 Education Act, school boards were entrusted with the responsibility for the employment, dismissal and remuneration of teachers in Scotland. Section 55 of the Act stated clearly that any teacher appointed after 1872, 'held office during the pleasure of the school board', thus placing them in an

1. See chapter four, section four, pp.182-5.

extremely powerful position to influence all stages of a teacher's career cycle.¹ In 1872, there were approximately 984 school boards covering a population of 1,447,919ⁱⁿ /parishes and burghs / throughout Scotland, and it was at the discretion of each of these boards to determine a teacher's wage.² In view therefore, of the bewildering number of individual school boards and the absence of a central educational authority prepared to introduce a national salary scheme, it was hardly surprising that enormous disparities in teachers' wages arose.

The additional complication was that in theory each school board had three available financial sources of income for the purpose of teachers' remuneration. They consisted of (a) the annual government grant; (b) the examination results of scholars, and (c) the levy imposed on ratepayers - more commonly known as the school rate.³ In practice however, the actual amount of income at the disposal of school teachers varied sharply according to the size and geographical location of each school board district.

-
1. P.P. 1872/1873, Cmd. 812, Vol. XXIV. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act 35 and 36 Vict. C.62.
 2. P.P. 1872/1873 Cmd. 812, Vol. XXIV, Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1872, pp.6-70.
 3. For further information on the system of payment by results in Scotland, see T. Wilson, 'A Reinterpretation of "Payment by Results" in Scotland, 1861-1872,' in W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson (eds.) op.cit., pp.93-115. See also J.D. Maxwell, 'School Board and Pupil Welfare: Govan School Board 1873-1919' (Unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1973); M. Monies, 'The Impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act on Scottish Working Class Education up to 1899' (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974). A Parallel account of Payment by Results under the English School Board system can be found in G. Sutherland, Policy Making in Elementary Education, 1870-1895 (Oxford, 1973), pp.266-283.

For example, in many thinly populated districts throughout Scotland, it was often impossible for a consistent financial contribution to be made towards a teacher's wage. This was partially due to irregular school attendance amongst many children who were otherwise employed in seasonal agricultural work to supplement the family income.¹ Correspondingly, the number of examination passes amongst children in the three Rs was frequently low and since a teacher's salary was partly measured by her examination results, it could have a detrimental effect on the amount of income at her disposal. In the county of Argyll for instance, one school board had an average attendance of nine school children - the other had eight.² There were also problems with imposing the rate levy for the purpose of teachers' remuneration. This was due to the lack of effective machinery for extracting fees from parents in poverty and the consequent delay in paying the school rate.³ The overall effect of the anomalies in these three sources of income, produced a great deal of financial insecurity for teachers in many rural and remote school board districts.

-
1. J. Mason, History of Scottish Rural Experiments in Rural Education (1935).
 2. A.J. Belford, Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland (Edinburgh 1946), p.152.
 3. T.R. Bone (ed.), 'Teachers and Security of Tenure', in Studies of the History of Scottish Education, 1872-1939 (1971), p.91.

In the cities and towns, teachers also confronted extensive problems with their employers concerning wage levels. The chief difficulty related to the complete lack of standardisation in school board policies which stemmed from their refusal to impose maximum and minimum scales in teachers' salaries. This was particularly true of the 1870s, when there were notorious differences in the salaries of teachers who taught at the same grade in elementary schools, under the one school board authority. A vivid illustration of the acute anomalies in wages between certificated teachers in urban districts can be highlighted with reference to the Dundee School Board. Featured below in Table 3.7 are the mean salaries of principal teachers in Dundee in 1879.

Table 3.7. Percentage Ratio of ^{Mean}Salaries of Principal Teachers in Dundee Board Schools: 1879.

School	Male (£)	Female (£)	%
Ancrum Road	257	110	43
Balfour Street	215	92	43
Blackcroft	145	62	43
Brown Street	237	101	43
Clephington	289	124	43
Dudhope	150	62	41
Glebelands	335	142	42
Hawhill	402	172	43
Hill Street	249	106	43
Longwynd	120	51	43
Victoria Road	299	128	43
Wallacetown	174	80	46

Source: Reports of the Dundee School Board: Abstract of Returns, Art. XVI, 14, April 1879, p.14.

The significance of the figures in Table 3.7 is twofold: apart from providing further evidence that women's wages were less

than half of those earned by male principals, they highlight the sharp differences in salary between teachers under the same school board. For example, a male head teacher in Hawhill school received £409 per annum, while his less fortunate counterpart in Blackcroft school received only £145 in 1879. The gap in wages between women were not so extreme but nevertheless did display wide variations; Table 3.7 shows that the maximum and minimum salaries of headmistresses ranged between £80 and £172.

Moreover, these marked disparities in salaries were not peculiar to the Dundee school board. James Roxburgh, in his assessment of headmasters' salaries shows the generous but different rates received by individual headmasters under the Glasgow school board in 1879¹ (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8. Salaries of Three Headmasters in Glasgow Board Schools: 1879.

Name	School	Accom.	Salary
Donald	Thomson Street	886	£676-0s-9d
Liddell	Oaklands	1,286	£802-0s-4d.
Laidlaw	Crookston	1,135	£749-1s-1d

Source: J. Roxburgh, The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919 (1971) pp.37-8.

Table 3.8 indicates that the salaries received by these headmasters in Glasgow were even higher in comparison with those of men in Dundee. The extreme differences in salaries between headmasters was principally as a result of the variations in the

1. J. Roxburgh, The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919 (1971), pp.33-45.

amount of annual Government grant, which then in turn depended on factors such as the size of classes and on the amount of accommodation provision in schools.¹ The overall effect of the exceptionally generous rates paid to some headteachers on the one hand, and the comparatively low salaries of many headteachers on the other, caused incessant complaints of the school board system. One such discontented 'dominie' pinpointed his criticisms of teachers' wages by comparing the differing school board practices between Edinburgh and Glasgow,

The differences between the two boards is most marked, Glasgow is abnormally generous in extremes. With its pupil teachers and its headmasters it deals more handsomely than any other board in Great Britain. While on the other hand, the intermediate staff of certificated assistants - the real workers of the school are treated with exceptional niggardliness. Edinburgh shows no glaring anomalies. There, the arrangements are made on a most fair and equitable basis. Headmasters do not get such absurdly high salaries but assistants are immeasurably better off than they are here.²

The dominie substantiated his argument by pointing out that in Glasgow the salary scales of male assistant certificated teachers ranged between £70 - £100 in 1896, but the corresponding scale in Edinburgh was £85 - £120.³ He also confirmed that at the top sections of the occupational hierarchy, discernable differences in pay existed between headmasters in the hinterland of Glasgow;

1. Ibid.

2. Dominie, 'Salaries of Teachers under Edinburgh and Glasgow, School Board Contrasted', in The Bailie, 26 May 1886, (newscutting).

3. Ibid.

in 1886 their mean wage in Greenock was £267, in Paisley £195, and over £300 in Glasgow.¹ The major implication of these figures was that in spite of close geographical proximity, there were sharp discrepancies in wages between teachers of the same occupational grade. In this respect, it was the visibility of pay inequality between certificated teachers within each urban locality that aroused much embitterment amongst members of the EIS. These precise sentiments were encapsulated in a poignant speech by a male assistant certificated teacher to EIS members in 1894:

Because for instance, there exists an imaginary and arbitrary line, separating Leith from Edinburgh therefore, an assistant of eight years standing whose fate has placed him to the south of that line, received £120 per annum whilst his less fortunate brother simply because he is located two yards north of it receives £95 for precisely similar services. Both do exactly the same work, both produce generally good results, yet only one receives three quarters of the remuneration of the other.²

The male assistant concluded his speech by strongly recommending that the gradation of teachers' salaries should become a national concern rather than a purely local one. Many other EIS members were equally scathing in their condemnation of school boards and demanded their abolition but this did not occur until 1918 under the Education (Scotland) Act.³

1. Ibid.

2. C. McDonald, Educational News, op.cit., pp.56-60.

3. Ibid.

The discussion has hitherto centred on describing the role of employers and the nature of their close involvement in teachers' remuneration. The remainder of this section focuses more specifically on the relationship between gender and the role of employers on the one hand, and the professional qualifications of teachers on the other. In doing so, it examines variables such as qualifications, age, and length of service in teaching, as a means of assessing whether sex differentials in pay were actually determined by those factors rather than on the primary criteria of gender.

There is sufficient evidence to show that in spite of wide variations in the methods adopted by each school board to determine a teacher's salary, they all shared one common characteristic, namely that lower and different salary scales were devised for women. Generally speaking, girls earned at least £10 less per annum than boys on entering into the employment of school boards. This demarcated policy according to gender became apparent during the late 1870s when the largest school boards began to introduce definite salary scales. Featured below in Table 3.9 are the salary scales of the sexes in Edinburgh and Glasgow elementary schools which were devised in accordance with the position of teachers within the occupational hierarchy.

Table 3.9. Salary Scales of Teachers in Edinburgh and Glasgow Elementary Schools: 1879-1882.

	Minimum £	Maximum £
<u>Edinburgh</u>		
Headmaster	300	350
Male Assistant Certificated	80	100
Female Assistant Certificated	60	80
<u>Glasgow</u>		
Headmaster	200 or 300	500
Male Assistant Certificated	70	100
Female Assistant Certificated	60	80

Source: J. Roxburgh, The School Board of Glasgow 1813-1919 (1971), p.44.

These statistics serve to confirm that female assistant certificated teachers were indeed paid considerably lower wages than males on entering into the employment of both boards. For instance, in Edinburgh females received an initial payment of £20 less than males while the maximum wage which they could expect to earn was also £20 lower. In other words, the introduction of definite salary scales in both cities by 1879 highlighted the formal restrictions placed on female teachers' economic aspirations in comparison with that of the male teachers. Moreover, it can also be statistically demonstrated that there was no striking alteration in this picture before the First World War. Table 3.10 contains information on the salary scales of male and female assistant certificated teachers in 1914. The sample is larger than that presented previously in Table 3.9, because by 1914

time the majority of boards in Scotland had comprised separate salary scales according to gender.

Table 3.10. Selected Number of School Boards and Salary Scales of Assistant Certificated Teachers in Scottish Elementary Schools: 1913-1914.

District	Sex	Minimum £	Maximum £
Glasgow	Male	90	170
	Female	70	120
Edinburgh	Male	90	180
	Female	60	130
Govan	Male	95	180
	Female	70	130
Leith	Male	90	170
	Female	60	120
Aberdeen	Male	110	160
	Female	60	130
Paisley	Male	90	180
	Female	-	110
Bothwell	Male	100	170
	Female	70	115
Cathcart	Male	100	180
	Female	65	120
*Brechin	Male	90	120
	Female	65	80
*Alloa	Male	80	110
	Female	50	90
*Ardrossan	Male	90	130
	Female	70	90
*Blantyre	Male	100	120
	Female	65	90
*Broughty Ferry	Male	105	150
	Female	60	70
*Bovihill	Male	100	120
	Female	60	65
*Bervie	Male	90	100
	Female	60	75

Table 3.10 Continued

District	Sex	Minimum £	Maximum £
*Kelso	Male	90	100
	Female	60	80
*Gourock	Male	65	115
	Female	55	82

*Boards serving population under 15,000; otherwise serving population of 60,000 and over.

Sources: The Scottish Class Teacher: Salaries Statement 1913; SRO, G0/842/76 p.56, and Scottish Class Teachers Federation: Reports of Perth Association, 1914, SRO, GD/342/73/10, p.32.

Overall, table 3.10 provides a convincing demonstration that each school board authority devised a substantially lower and more differentiated pay scale for female teachers in Scotland before 1914. This evidence conclusively shows that it was school board practice to employ female assistant certificated teachers at a cheaper rate than their male counterparts.

It was widely asserted by male contemporaries that the lower salaries of female teachers were justified on the grounds that they were unskilled and less highly qualified than males. To assess whether economic discrimination against women was indeed based on having lower professional qualifications rather than on the primary criteria of sex, it would be appropriate to take a comparative sample of men and women with identical qualifications, age and previous teaching experience. Unfortunately, data on the age and experience of teachers at the time of appointment is not widely available and hence a comprehensive investigation of this nature cannot be undertaken. Nevertheless, a few of

the larger school boards did leave scattered records on the teachers' date of entry into the board's employment as well as their length of service in teaching. For example, it has been possible to compile comparative statistics on the salaries and length of service of individual teachers in Glasgow and Edinburgh board schools over a period stretching from 1874 until 1917. Tables 3.11 and 3.12 refer to assistant certificated teachers, which means that both sexes had undergone a two year teacher training course and were likely to have acquired similar qualifications after their departure from college around the age of twenty.

Table 3.11. Length of Service and Salaries of Twelve Female Assistant Certificated Teachers in Glasgow and Edinburgh board schools, 1874-1917.

Name	School	Entry date	Initial Salary	Year	Current Salary
Kate McRoberts	Albion St.	1903	80	1915	110
Elsie Wilkie	"	1903	80	1915	110
Lillian Lindsay	"	1903	80	1915	110
Susan Bishop	Gorgie St.	1874	130	1906	130 max.
Annie Henderson	Leith Walk	1895	65	1915	130
Joanna Murray	"	1895	65	1915	130
Sophia MacKay	"	1890	105	1915	130 max.
Agnes McGlaghin	Abbotsford	1904	65	1917	120
Janet Cowie	"	1909	65	1913	90
Anna Coutts	Thompson	1909	65	1913	90
Eliz Lumsden	London St.	1883	105	1915	130 max.
Agnes Burnett	Bristo	1895	65	1906	110 max.

Table 3.12. Length of Service and Salaries of Twelve Male Assistant Certificated Teachers in Glasgow and Edinburgh Board Schools 1886-1917.

Name	School	Entry date	Initial Salary	Year	Current Salary
Andrew Craig	Abbotsford	1904	85	1917	155
John Anderson	Springburn	1909	85	1913	115
Thos. Millar	Thompson	1909	85	1913	110
Alex. Reid	Gorgie St.	1905	90	1915	140
Rob. Mack	"	1893	97	1906	
Alex. Doull	"	1895	87	1906	142
Leonard Scott	Leith Walk	1895	85	1915	180
Edward Wilson	"	1895	100	1915	180 max.
Thos. Hepburn	Bristo St.	1895	125	1906	200 max.
*John Burnie	Abbeyhill	1886	182	1906	250 max.
William George	"	1886	108	1906	160 max.
John Munro	Flora Stev.	1906	100	1915	115

*John Burnie classified as First Assistant.

Sources: Annual Reports of the Glasgow School Board, 1874/1917, G.C.A. D/ED/4/19.

Annual Reports of the Edinburgh School Board 1874/1917
Edinburgh Central Library (subsequent refs. ECL) YL/353.

The findings from tables 3.11 and 3.12 indicate quite clearly that in spite of a lengthy teaching career women were not rewarded with equal pay in the above elementary schools. The extreme example of this discriminatory policy on wages can be seen in the case of Susan Bishop in Table 3.11. She had been teaching in Gorgie Street school, Edinburgh for over thirty years (from 1874 until 1906) and yet her maximum salary of £130 remained unchanged throughout that period.¹ By contrast, Robert Mack

1. See table 3.11.

(see Table 3.12) had entered the same school in 1893 at a salary of £97 and by 1906 it had risen to £160. In other words, his salary exceeded Susan Bishop's by £30 per annum in spite of almost twenty years less teaching experience at Gorgie School.

Both Tables also confirmed that in spite of completing a similar period of service in teaching, women continued to receive a lower maximum salary in relation to men. For example, Joanna Murray and Leonard Scott both acquired a teaching post at Leith Walk School, Edinburgh, in 1895, at salaries of £65 and £85 respectively. After twenty years of service in the same school, she received £130 compared with £180 for Scott. Thus showing that the gap in wage differentials actually widened between each sex over twenty years. Generally speaking, therefore, it was not worthwhile competing for equal pay with their male counterparts on the basis of a similar completion rate of employment in the same school.

In fact, the only remote possibility for individual female teachers to earn a higher income than males was if they remained in the same school for a much longer period. Two exceptional examples were Bella Drummond and George Young, both of whom were employed as assistant certificated teachers at Broughton School in Edinburgh; she had taught in this school since 5 January 1891 and was receiving £110 per annum in 1906, whilst Young had entered

the school in 1905 and was receiving £90 by 1906. In other words, Bella Drummond remained in that school for almost fifteen years longer and yet only received £20 above the wage paid to her male contemporary.¹

Overall, therefore, there is sufficient statistical evidence in sections one and two to conclude that in spite of achieving identical professional qualifications and similar lengths of service in a school, women teachers could never expect to earn the same wage as men in Scotland before 1914. The major significance of the statistics was that employers did in fact determine teachers' wages principally on the criteria of gender and that other variables such as academic qualifications were of secondary importance. It has been further shown that this policy of economic discrimination applied at every stage of a ^{teacher's} career. At all ages, women teachers of a given qualification, in a given type of school, earned considerably less than their male counterparts. The direct outcome of employers' policies meant that the attainment of similar academic skills by women teachers in elementary and secondary schools was not necessarily a pre-requisite for obtaining equal pay on the same terms as men.

1. Summary of evidence of Edinburgh School Board 1874/1917.

Section three: Employers' and Policy Makers' Attitudes to
Sex Discrimination in Teachers' Pay

With the aid of wage data, it has been demonstrated that economic discrimination against female teachers was a fundamental feature of the educational structure throughout the Victorian and Edwardian period in Scotland. In the light of this information, an important question arises for scrutiny, namely; to what extent did male educational policy makers and employers consciously develop and reinforce a pay hierarchy in teaching primarily based on gender inequality?

In resolving this question, the method of inquiry is twofold: firstly, to explore the dominant set of assumptions on which sexual inequality and differentiation in teachers' pay was based; and secondly, to discuss the main ideological arguments that were perpetuated in order to defend this principle before the First World War.

It must be stressed at the outset, that a discussion of educationalists' attitudes on the subject of sex discrimination in teachers' pay is both difficult and complex. In the first instance, very few official documents appear to have been published, articulating a central policy to justify lower pay for women teachers. Indeed, during the late nineteenth century, there was little discussion or debate within official educational circles concerning the precise association between skill, pay, and gender. Hence as a rule, the vision and views of male educationalists on the economic functions of female teachers

in the labour market were implicit within the educational reports rather than explicit. On the other hand, at specific intervals, isolated observations on women's wages did surface in the official reports and hence some commentary can be teased out concerning the latent prejudices and ideological assumptions of policy makers on this issue.

Part of the explanation for the lack of debate on female remuneration, can be attributed to the nature of the Scottish educational system which was steeped in a historical tradition that was accustomed to paying women teachers lower wages than men. As a consequence, customary tradition played an important part in the continued acceptance by employers of differentiated wage labour based on gender during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the Scottish teaching profession was not unique. On the contrary, the customary practice of unequal wages between the sexes was an inherent feature in virtually every manual and white collar occupation in nineteenth century Britain. E.H. Hunt, in his analysis of nineteenth century family earnings, suggests that women's wages were often not based on a market calculation but were rather:

... determined in large part by consideration of what people believed they ought to earn and this was usually measured as a customary porportion of the male rate. Tradition was reinforced by the especially close links between the wages of men and boys; boys graduated to

full men's wages in a number of well defined stages ... similarly the pay of girls was in part determined by what boys received and by women's rates.¹

In E.H. Hunt's view therefore, customary tradition also partially determined the existence of a pay hierarchy between female workers depending on their age and position in the household and the same rules applied to males. Meanwhile, other historians such as E.J. Hobsbawm draws attention to the role of status, arguing that status was often intertwined with customary habit in the payment of manual workers' wages. According to this hypothesis:

Within each stratum or industry there was a well defined hierarchy ... status reflected wage differences or wage differences hardened into custom, but workers did not clearly distinguish between these and the status they believed to be attached to the job.²

Hobsbawm's point that custom and status were often indistinguishable factors in the hardening of wage differences between workers, can also be appropriately applied to the attitudes of many male teachers with respect to women's wages. For example, a male assistant certificated teacher who was ardently criticising employers for paying teachers low wages exclaimed:

It seems to me that the whole question is one of custom; if school boards understood that £80, £90 or £100 per annum was the minimum

-
1. E.H. Hunt, Regional Variations in Britain 1850-1914 (Oxford, 1973), p.118.
 2. E.J. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men (1964), p.345.

commencing salaries for male teachers and £60, £65 or £70 for females, it would be paid with no more demur than the miserable pittance of twenty-six shillings¹ and seventeen shillings and sixpence.

On the one hand, therefore, whilst valiantly challenging the fundamental notion of custom in the dictation of teachers' wages, he wholly accepted the customary tradition of paying women lower wages than male teachers as a natural phenomenon on the other. In doing so, he was implicitly endorsing the inferior status of female teachers and the economically superior position of male teachers in the profession.

However, although customary habit may have been an important factor in explaining the persistent acceptance of pay inequality between the sexes, it does not necessarily follow that employers themselves, were unaware of this discriminative policy. On the contrary, at specific intervals during the late nineteenth century, it can be gleaned that some senior educational officials were not only aware of the existence of a pay hierarchy between the sexes in teaching, but also actively encouraged its development. Specifically, it was during the transitional phase after the introduction of the 1872 Act that the links between skill, pay and gender were more explicitly incorporated into the writings of educationalists.

Discussion on this subject stemmed from growing anxiety within official educational circles that the supply of skilled teachers was

1. C. McDonald, Educational News, op.cit., pp.56-60.

inadequate to meet the demand; this was following the Act's recommendation for a supply of 'competent' teachers in state schools.¹ It was accompanied by contemporaries' fears that the pool of available sources of income ^{be} may /insufficient to pay male certificated teachers a wage which accorded with their high qualifications. In the eyes of some male educationalists, the solution lay in taking advantage of the abundant supply of skilled female labour from the teacher training colleges, on the grounds that they could be employed at a cheaper rate than male certificated teachers. Such a suggestion was raised by Professor Ramsay, in a report on the qualifications of teachers in Shetland in 1877.

To maintain efficient schools with certificated schoolmasters ... will be impossible. At present, the schools are being conducted almost entirely by the old teachers, many of whom will be unable or unwilling to qualify themselves on examination. If teachers with certificates of any grade above the fourth are to be employed, high salaries must be paid ... Now a good teacher will undoubtedly not be tempted to settle in Shetland for less than his services command elsewhere. On the contrary, he cannot fail to expect more. No doubt, much may be saved by substituting female for male teachers though there seems to ^{be} a strong prejudice against them in Shetland.²

Professor Ramsay's tentative suggestion was disapproved of by other male contemporaries, on the separate premise, that even the

1. See chapter two, section one, Pp.54-5.
2. P.P. 1877/1878, Cmd. 1809, Vol. XXXII, Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1877, Appendix III report on an inspection of Shetland and Orkney Schools to the Board of Education, p.77.

salaries of female certificated teachers were too high in relation to the actual sources of income available to pay the wages of many teachers. As an alternative strategy therefore, many employers accepted the services of unskilled teachers (many of whom were girls) in the knowledge that they could be paid less than female certificated teachers. The existence of a definite pay hierarchy based on the criteria of skill and gender was admitted by the commissioner for education in Scotland in 1880. They sanctioned this practice by observing that:

... a considerable number of teachers who have not passed through the training colleges will always be required for service throughout the country as the salaries obtained even by the female trained teachers are beyond the means¹ of the managers of a large number of schools.

Moreover, specific reference was made to the importance of pupil teachers within this pay hierarchy; in assessing their economic function in the labour market, they said:

Pupil teachers who ... cannot be admitted to training college furnish a valuable supply of teachers for these small schools, the funds of which cannot without a serious charge on the rates, be expected to defray the cost of a fully trained teacher.²

In short, economic necessity was initially at any rate, a driving force in the SED's decision to encourage the recruitment and influx of females into the Scottish teaching profession during

1. P.P. 1880/1881, Cmd. 2563, Vol. XXIV, Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1880, pp.18-19, Commissioners Gordon, Hamilton and Richmond.
2. ibid.

the 1870s. By implication, therefore, the feminisation process was clearly close interwoven with economic factors in the vision of senior educational policy makers.

The discussion has hitherto centred on the economic rationale of male policy decision makers for paying skilled female teachers lower wages than their male counterparts.¹ However, a social explanation for wage inequality between the sexes was also periodically articulated by some employers as well as amongst male teachers. In this context, the concept of marriage and the family wage were crucial determinants for justifying and maintaining sex differentials in teachers' pay.² As one proponent of this view explained,

Public opinion has decreed that a man's wages should support his wife and children ... I think it is undeniable that it is for the good of the children, and therefore the nation, that motherhood and training of her children should be the supreme work of a married woman.³

-
1. For a wider examination of the relationship between sex and skill within an occupational structure, see A. Phillips and B. Taylor, 'Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics' in Feminist Review No. 6, 1980, pp.55-58.
 2. It should be stressed that the arguments used to defend unequal pay for women workers were prevalent not only within the teaching profession but also in every other white collar occupation in Britain. For example in 1914, the Treasury published a statement on the wages of females in civil service and the family wage was a crucial factor in their defence of paying female employees lower pay than men. I owe this information to a stimulating paper by Meta Zinneck 'Strategies and Stratagems For the Employment of Women in the Civil Service 1919-1939', Unpublished paper (April 1982). For further information on the wages paid to female employees in the Civil Service during the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see L. Holcombe, Victorian Ladies At Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales, 1850-1914 (Newton Abbot, USA, 1973), pp.174-179.
 3. M.J.M.G., 'Equal Pay to Men and Women', Educational News, 17 April 1914, p.366.

As the above statement implies, the family wage was based on the notion of the man as breadwinner with a dependent housewife and children. Thus, marriage and the dependent relationship it implied, was held out as the ideal for all women. Consequently, in spite of having access to professional training, women teachers (as well as other female white collar workers) were still expected to choose between marriage and a career given that their primary task was childbearing and rearing a family. Faced with this prospect, boys and husbands required higher wages than females because they had a wife and children to support.¹

The logic of this view was that because marriage was assumed to be their ultimate goal, single girls were considered to be transitory employees without a lifelong commitment to the improvement of the educational system.² Furthermore, it was widely assumed that single girls had no dependants or relatives to support from their wages, and hence, deserved to earn lower wages than boys.³ Conversely, it was presumed, either, that bachelors did

-
1. For a fuller explanation and discussion of the principles underlying the concept of the Family Wage, see H. Land, 'The Family Wage' in Feminist Review No. 6, 1980, pp.55-85; and also A. Weir and M. McIntosh, 'Towards a Wages Strategy For Women' in Feminist Review No. 10, Spring 1982, pp.3-5.
 2. The above argument was more fully outlined in a discussion on equal pay for female clerical workers (whose economic position was compared with women teachers) in the official Report of the Hobhouse Committee in 1906: P.P. 1906, Cmnd. 380 Vol. XII, Part II, Select Committee on Post Office Servants, Witness, Miss Cale, Qs.15557-74, pp.963-966.
 3. Ibid.

have dependants to support, or, that they were saving for the future, when they may have a family to maintain, and hence, warranted a higher income than women teachers.

Within official educational circles, the mouthpiece of female opposition to these dominant beliefs was spearheaded by isolated individuals elected onto school boards. One such person was Flora Stevenson - a longstanding member of the Edinburgh School Board and a champion of equal employment and economic opportunities for women.¹ Articulating the views of the tiny minority of female representatives on school boards,² she challenged the basic assumptions on which the family wage was founded, arguing that:

I can never understand why there should be such a large difference between the salaries of young men and women who do exactly the same work. One reason given for the higher salaries earned by men is that they are expected to marry and have wives dependant on them. In the case of women teachers, the reasons for their salary is that they too are expected to marry but to become dependant on someone else. I cannot see why this future possibility should depreciate the present value of their work. I believe too, that there are very few of the women who teach in our public schools who work solely for their own support and most of them have relatives, father or young brother and sister dependent on them.³

-
1. A biographical sketch of Flora Stevenson is undertaken in chapter five, section three, pp.240-3.
 2. The role of female representation elected onto urban school boards is reviewed in chapter five, section three, pp.240-7.
 3. F. Stevenson, 'A Teachers' Benevolent Fund', paper given at the Educational Congress of the EIS, 4 January 1894, p.96.

In this way, Flora Stevenson brought into question the basic assumptions on which the concept of the family wage was based. She was particularly critical of the view that the expectation of marriage should actively prohibit the chances of single girls earning the same wage as boys.¹ Evidence on the age of marriage and the career potential of single female teachers bears out Flora Stevenson's critique of the assumptions underpinning the concept of the family wage. In the first instance, female teachers in Scotland and England did not face an inevitable choice between marriage and a career, before the First World War. Unlike other white collar occupations such as the Civil Service and the Post Office,² it was not statutory for female teachers compulsorily to give up their careers because of marriage; clause one of the 1911 Education (Girls) Bill, stated clearly that,

... no women shall be excluded on the grounds of marriage from becoming an applicant for the post of teacher in any school under the control of any local education authority and no local education authority shall dismiss or consent to the dismissal of any female teacher on the grounds of her marriage.³

In the absence of a marriage bar therefore, no formal restrictions were placed on women compulsorily to give up their teaching career. In practice, these regulations were subject to much abuse and regional variation.⁴ Some of the larger school

1. Ibid.

2. See L. Holcombe, op.cit., pp.141-181.

3. Quoted in the Annual Report of Perth Association of the EIS, 1911, SRO,ED/342/43/2, p.87.

4. Ibid.

boards in cities such as Glasgow did appear to exert severe pressure on female teachers to withdraw from employment in the event of marriage, principally because these employers could rely on a cheap and abundant supply of youthful female labour in preference to ageing women teachers who were more expensive.¹ However, in smaller and more remote school board districts the opposite was true. It was quite commonplace for a man and wife to teach together in the same school, since it provided a joint source of income and helped to ease the housing problem if accommodation was scarce.

Furthermore, even if the majority of girls did decide to retire from teaching after acquiring a marriage partner, there is some fragmentary evidence to suggest that this did not happen until a later stage of their career cycle. To illustrate this point, Table 3.13 presents the age profile of a selected number of teachers from the Scottish Occupational Census in 1911.

Table 3.13. Age Structure of a Selected Number of Teachers in Scotland, 1911.

Teachers	14 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65 - 69
Males	70	844	4,354	2,579	112
Females	253	2,003	5,690	1,993	260

Source: P.P. 1912/13, Cmd. 6097, Vol. CXIX, Part I, Report of the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland, 1911.

The striking feature of Table 3.13 shows that there was no essential difference in the age profile of male and female teachers

1. I owe this information to Constantine Dickson, aged 86 (oral interview, Glasgow 1979).

in Scotland for 1911. It can be seen from this sample that the largest number of male and female teachers were concentrated in the age bracket twenty-five and forty-four, and it was only thereafter, that a sharp decline occurred in the numbers of both sexes leaving the profession.

A plausible explanation for girls' decision to delay marriage until a later stage in their career cycle was due to their strong financial links with their families. The objective reality of many single girls' economic circumstances was that they were under a financial obligation to their parents to sustain a lengthy period of service in teaching;¹ principally because many parents paid for their daughters' education at a teacher training college.² Correspondingly, females felt a moral obligation to sustain their teaching career and to lend financial assistance to their parents reaching old age. Oral evidence would confirm that many unmarried female teachers perceived strong links to exist between financial home ties and marriage. For example, Constantine Dickson attended the Catholic teacher training college in Glasgow between 1912 and 1914, and when asked about the cohort age of marriage amongst her peer group, she replied that the majority of girls married in their late twenties.

-
1. These precise sentiments were also echoed by female post office workers before the Select Committee in 1913. See P.P. 1912/1913, Cmnd. 268, Vol. XII, Select Committee on Post Office Servants, Witness Miss Edith Howse, 2 January 1913, Q.24912, pp.1808-1814.
 2. The amount and allocation of bursary allowances paid to each sex was reviewed in chapter two, section three, pp.83-4.

Question: Why?

Answer: Most women teachers married later because they wished to get something out of their education and then they had their home ties. Brothers and sisters married young and had their children, and teachers were needed to help with the children's clothing and education. Parents sometimes made it a bargain with women teachers to stand by the rest of the family financially - the teacher was a kind of investment.

In spite of the strong financial ties which many single girls felt towards their families, the idea of the independent female teacher earning a single wage continued to be prevalent in policy-making circles. Likewise, the small number of female school board representatives who opposed sex differentials in teachers' pay, failed to undermine the staunchly held attitudes of male educational policy makers in Scotland. One major explanation for this failure, was undoubtedly because economic discrimination against female workers was a universal characteristic of all white collar and manual occupations throughout Britain.² For example, the wages of female teachers in England were consistently lower than those earned by men (see Table 3.14).

1. Interview by H. Corr (Glasgow 1979).
2. M. Zimneck, op.cit., pp.1-16. For a survey of women's wages in manual occupations see E.H. Phelps Brown and M. Browne, A Century of Pay (1959).

Table 3.14.1 Mean Annual Salaries of Certificated Teachers
in English and Scottish Elementary Schools:
1875-1914.

Year	England		Scotland	
	Male £	Female £	Male £	Female £
1875	109	65	-	-
1880	121	73	138	71
1885	121	74	135	65
1890	120	76	133	62
1895	122½	80	140	67
1900	125½	84½	143	70
1905	130	88	151	77
1910	145	100	160	83
1914	147	103	163	87

Sources: A. Tropp, The School Teachers: The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales (1957), Appendix B, p.273, and Annual Reports 1889/1914 P.P. 1880/1881, Cmd. 2563, Vol. XXIV, Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1880, pp.1-19; P.P. 1914/1916, Cmd. 7929, Vol. XX, Reports of the C.C.E.S. 1914, pp.5-41.

Sex discrimination in teachers' pay continued to operate throughout both World Wars in Britain,² with the notion of the

-
1. It is also of interest here to compare the difference in the mean wages of female teachers in both countries. The statistics indicate that if Scottish female teachers migrated to England in search of a teaching post there was a strong likelihood that they could earn higher wages than in Scotland. The opposite was true for men. Table 3.14 shows that the mean wages of male teachers in Scotland were considerably higher than that earned by their counterparts in English Elementary Schools.
 2. Equal pay for school teachers was finally introduced in 1961. For an account of how this precept has been working out in practice see P. Turnbull and G. Williams, 'Sex Differentials in Teachers' Pay' in Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 137, Part 2, 1974, pp.245-257.

family wage continuing to be a persuasive argument to justify this policy.¹

In conclusion, it has been argued that the mass employment of female teachers after 1872, was indeed intricately interwoven with economic factors in the vision of Scottish educational policy makers. It can be further concluded that employers were also aware that strong links existed between pay, skill and gender. Many of them took advantage of an abundant supply of skilled female labour in the knowledge that they could be employed at a cheaper rate than males of the same occupational status, thus suggesting, that far from being an objective economic fact, skill was an ideological ^{and social} category that was ^{impregnated} with sexual bias. In this respect, the meanings attached to skill were quite different for men and women and the practical manifestation of these differences was that female certificated teachers could never expect to be treated on the same economic terms as men.² The supreme paradox was that by the outbreak of the First World War, the majority of skilled teachers

-
1. The Sex Discrimination Act was only recently introduced in 1975. There are a number of publications on sex discrimination at the workplace; see for example, B. Chiplin and P.J. Sloane, Sex Discrimination in the Labour Market (1976); B. Chiplin and P.J. Sloane, Personal Characteristics and Sex Differentials in Professional Employment, in Economic Journal, Vol. 86, December 1976, pp.729-745; G.S. Becker, The Economics of Discrimination (University of Chicago Press, 1971).
 2. For an appraisal of the definitions of skill amongst male workers see W.W. Knox, British Apprenticeship 1800-1914 (Unpublished Ph.D, University of Edinburgh 1980), pp.36-56; C. More, Skill and the English Working Class, 1870-1914 (1980); R.J. Morris, 'Skilled Workers and the Politics of the "Red" Clyde' (Unpublished paper presented at the Irish Labour History Society Conference, September 1981).

in Scotland were comprised of women, and yet, it made little difference to the economic value placed on their work in relation to men within the same occupational grouping.¹

The fact that economic discrimination weighted more heavily against female teachers raises some fundamental questions. For example, to what extent did conflict prevail between the sexes over the issue of pay, inequality, and in particular, what were the responses of female teachers to this discriminative practice? In this respect, the main official platform for teachers to voice their opinions and grievances was in the respective teachers' associations. Hence, a predominant theme in the next chapter will be to examine the varied attitudes of both sexes on issues of economic and material concern within the Scottish Teachers' organisations.

1. See chapter two, section three, ^{p. 79} for information on the successful erosion of unskilled female teachers from the profession during the early decades of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCOTLAND 1872-1914:
COHESION AND DIVISION BETWEEN THE SEXES.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The survey on sex differentials in teachers' pay confirmed that one of the chief causes and consequences of feminisation was the employment of females as a cheap source of labour. It is the intention of this chapter to unite the themes of feminisation and pay by examining the perceptions of both sexes of these issues principally in the largest Scottish Teachers' Association - the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS).¹

The process of feminisation was closely interwoven with the recruitment of female teachers into the EIS after 1872. Prior to that period, the EIS was exclusively composed of men; female teachers were not formally excluded from the Institute but in practice they received very little encouragement to join until after the passing of the 1872 Education Act.² Thus, section one examines some of the underlying motives of senior male officials for encouraging female teachers to join the EIS after 1872. Section two focuses on the level of female teachers'

1. Archive sources used in the preparation of this chapter comprised the Annual Reports of Proceedings of the Educational Institute of Scotland (hereafter called EIS Proceedings); location: 46 Moray Place, Edinburgh, EIS Headquarters; Reports of Glasgow Local Association of the EIS; location: 34 George Street, Glasgow, EIS Headquarters. Miscellaneous Records of the EIS; location: SRO GD/342.
2. For a full account of the history of the EIS prior to the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, see J.D. Myers, 'Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy 1803-1872: Attitudes and Influence' (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh 1970).

participation in the organisational structure of the EIS. It is argued that in order to establish a power base inside the Institute, a central Ladies Committee was formed with the purpose of representing the 'special interests of female teachers' but that their main function was the reproduction of sex specific roles inside the EIS. It is further argued that the view of the Ladies Committee were endorsed by male EIS officials but were not ^{necessarily} representative of the mass female membership. In elaborating on this theme, section three argues that the leadership's preoccupation with specific professional ideals seriously hindered the achievement of more material goals such as higher remuneration and equal pay. The final section examines the reasons for deep-seated discontent between the sexes inside the ranks of Scottish Teachers' Associations.

Preliminary Remarks

Before examining the recruitment of women into the Institute it would be appropriate to identify the various teachers' associations in Scotland between 1847 and 1914; secondly to describe some of the major methodological problems inherent in an analysis of the EIS.

The study of the interaction between the sexes in the EIS is particularly important in the absence of an independent union of female teachers in Scotland before 1914. Scotland was unique in this respect; in 1909, the National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT) was formed in England as an independent splinter group from the largest teachers' Union - the National Union of Teachers (NUT).¹

1. In England, there were two other independent Associations of women teachers in the late nineteenth century. They comprised the National Federation of Women Teachers and latterly the Womens Teachers' Franchise Union, see A. Tropp, The School Teachers: The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales (1957) pp.215-216.

There were, however, two sectional female bodies in Scotland, comprising the Infant Mistress Association and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects (ATDS). Both bodies operated as pressure groups to represent the interests of infant and domestic science teachers, but beyond that little detailed information exists since the historical records of both organisations currently cannot be traced.¹

The first major teachers' Association to be founded in Scotland was the EIS. It had been formed in September 1847 for 'teachers of all denominations' but in practice, its membership was quite deferential and restricted to burgh and parochial schoolmasters.² It began with a membership of approximately 1,300³ and by 1914 the figure had risen to 14,000, but notably it failed to embrace all 26,788 teachers in Scotland at that time.

1. However, it is known that the Infant Mistress Association was in existence by 1893. One of its major concerns was to strive for greater control of the Infant Department under the authority of the Infant Mistress. That year the Association led a deputation to the Edinburgh School Board stating that: 'While the Master is entrusted with full authority over the whole school and is responsible for its discipline and efficiency, the Infant Mistress is the head of her own department, subject to his general direction and supervision', Reports of the Edinburgh Headmasters Association 1886/1903, 16 Jan 1893, SRO 342/25/1 p.25.
2. For a fuller occupational breakdown in the composition of male membership in the EIS between 1847-1872 see J.D. Myers, 'Scottish Schoolmasters in the Nineteenth Century: Professionalism and Politics', in W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson (eds.), Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980, pp.75-93.
3. Ibid.

Potentially the EIS could have significantly enlarged its membership if it had been willing to unify the sectional interests of each occupational group in teaching. Its failure to do so, directly resulted in the formation of an alternative organisation, the Scottish Class Teachers' Association (SCTA) in 1893.¹ This organisation had been formed with the express task of improving the economic and promotional prospects of class teachers (otherwise known as Assistant Certificated Teachers²) in primary and secondary schools. The SCTA had a membership of 3,000 at its foundation, and by 1914, this figure had risen to 10,410 albeit that many of its members continued to pay their subscriptions to the EIS.

Dissatisfaction with the policies of the EIS on secondary education, resulted in the creation of another independent body, the Secondary Teachers Association, in 1885.³ It promoted the interests of rectors and schoolmasters in higher class schools. Initially, it contained no female members which essentially was a reflection of the virtual absence of female teachers in the secondary school sector. Gradually, however, a small number of

-
1. The term, Association was interchanged with Federation but for the purpose of consistency the word Association is used here.
 2. The term Assistant Certificated Teachers is used here, rather than Class Teachers. For an explanation as to why the EIS failed to embrace the interests of all sectional groups, see section two.
 3. In 1909, the Secondary Teachers' Association changed its title into the Secondary Education Association (SEA).

female teachers (mainly from institutions such as George Watsons' Ladies College and St. George's High School for Girls) joined this Association. However, its membership was never large and in the period before 1900 barely exceeded 300.

Each of these Associations pursued its own course more or less independently though the fact that all bodies had many members in common meant that there was much overlap in terms of policies and goals. This was particularly true of the SCTA whose aims and goals were almost identical to those in the EIS. Given that the same individual men and women were represented on the senior committees in both Associations, this finding was hardly surprising.

The chief methodological problem in analysing the recruitment of female teachers into the EIS, and ^{more} latterly the SCTA, was that neither organisation gave a statistical breakdown of membership according to gender. Indeed, up until the present day, the EIS has refused to comprise separate membership lists apparently because of its policy of drawing no lines of demarcation between the sexes.¹ The practical outcome of this policy has made it extremely difficult to compare the rate of female recruitment into the EIS with the overall membership of the teaching staff in Scotland. Fortunately, however, individual local branches of the EIS did contain statistical data on male and female membership in their reports for random years.² This information was

1. This information is owed to Mr. Thomson, Arch^{EIS} headquarters, Edinburgh (December 1982).
2. For example, data on membership according to gender was contained in the annual Reports of the Local Associations of Melrose, Dundee, and Stirlingshire in SRO GD/342.

conjunction with the literary reports of the EIS proves quite revealing on the perceptions of senior male officials towards the recruitment and subsequent participation of women teachers in the EIS.

Correspondingly, given that the EIS was exclusively comprised of men before 1872, it remains to be examined the extent to which they were prepared to encourage female recruitment into the Institute as manifested in the latter's representation and influence within the organisational structure of the EIS.

Section one: Recruitment of Female Teachers into the EIS:
1874-1900

It was not until 1874 that the first applications for female membership were received by the EIS. In that year, the Glasgow Local Association admitted Annette Jane James into its ranks while Madame Adele Schenck joined the Edinburgh branch.¹ In so doing, Madame Schenck became the first lady to be appointed onto the General Committee of Management though few women were to follow in her footsteps before 1914.² After 1874 there was growing discussion amongst the respective Local associations on whether or not women should be encouraged to join the EIS. For example, in October 1874 the Committee of the Glasgow Local Association sent out a special notice to all its members on this

1. Annette Jane James, St. Enoch School, Glasgow, later became Lady Superintendent of the Free Church Teacher Training College, Glasgow.
2. Summary of Evidence from the Reports of EIS Proceedings 1872/1914, Headquarters, Edinburgh.

subject and the response was one of definite encouragement.¹

The Glasgow branch dutifully followed up this action by setting up a Ladies Sub Committee in 1879 with the purpose of 'having this and other matters more especially in their province considered by the Ladies present'.²

Other male leaders in the EIS also encouraged the recruitment of women into the Institute. Their motives for adopting this stance were twofold; firstly, there was a growing preoccupation amongst senior male officials with the need to increase EIS membership. The basis for this belief was founded on the knowledge that in 1876 the total teaching staff in Scotland numbered over 13,000 and yet the membership of the EIS barely reached 2,000.³ It was widely believed, therefore, that one way of swelling the membership was to encourage women to join the institute especially in view of their accelerated influx into the profession since 1872. Thus, as an incentive to join the institute, women teachers paid a lower subscription fee of 2s. 6d. per annum compared with 3s. 6d. for men.

Secondly, it was generally perceived that female teachers would refrain from voicing their opinions at EIS meetings and that their silent presence would have a pacifying affect on the

1. Reports of the EIS, Glasgow Local Association 17 October 1874, Headquarters, Glasgow, p.89.

2. Ibid.

3. Reports of EIS Proceedings, 1876, SRO/GD342/1/7, p.12.

discussions of male members. Such a view was expounded by EIS President, Thomas Morrison, in 1876:

If it will be for the interest of the female teachers to have in their trials and difficulties the sympathy and the help of their natural protectors it will be no less for the interests of the male teachers to have their meetings and discussions per^suaded ^{per^uaded} by that gentle and subduing influence which the presence of Ladies never fails to produce.¹

This image of women's 'presence' as passive but at the same time constituting a moral restraining influence on the activities of male members was a view frequently reiterated by future presidents. In 1888, Alexander Thompson's assessment of women's major contribution within the Institute was that:

The presence of the large contingent of female teachers exercised an unconscious influence in sweetening the whole atmosphere of the meetings in softening the manners of the inferior sex and preventing them from becoming rude.²

In practice, this view of female teachers 'as exercising an unconscious influence' at meetings provided little real incentive for active female participation. Since their role at meetings was perceived of in such restrictive terms, many women teachers opted not to join the EIS. The result was that in spite of the growing influx of women into the profession and their superiority in numbers, a smaller percentage of females entered

1. Ibid.

2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1888, SRO/GD/342/11/8, p.95.

into the EIS than men. For example in 1886, it was reported that women teachers constituted only eighteen per cent of the total membership.¹

Concern over the issue of female membership was increasingly expressed within many local branches of the EIS throughout urban and rural Scotland. For example, Mr. Bain, the Chairman of the Melrose Local Association complained in 1880 that none of its twenty-four members included women; in accounting for this situation he laid important stress on the lack of relevance and meaning which the EIS held for female teachers, saying:

It appears that the great block in getting Assistants, especially female Assistants, to join the Institute is that they cannot see the use of it.²

The course of action adopted by the Melrose branch was to refer the question of female membership to the Annual General Meeting of the EIS for advice on steps to be taken to 'remove this barrier'.³ Similar anxieties were echoed by other Local Associations. In 1885, the Stirlingshire branch reported that in spite of a total of 134 female teachers in the district, only 12 of them had opted to join the EIS in contrast with 109 male teachers.⁴ As a result of mounting pressure from individual chairmen of various Local Associations, a circular was sent out in 1897 to

-
1. A.J. Belford, Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland (Edinburgh 1946), p.203.
 2. Reports of the EIS Melrose Local Association, 22 September 1880, SRO/GD/342/11/8, p.95.
 3. The first Lady to be admitted into the Melrose branch was Miss Agnes Cameron (Galashiels) in 1881.
 4. Reports of the EIS Stirlingshire Local Association, Secretary's Report 1885, SRO/GD/342/45/1, p.38.

the Secretary of each EIS branch requesting the compilation of statistics on non membership and the reasons for ... 'the comparatively small number of female teachers who are members of the Institute'.¹

Out of the 29 schedules returned to EIS headquarters in December 1898, it was discovered that some 1,791 females and 769 men had failed to join the EIS. A more precise indicator of the distribution of non membership according to gender is featured below in Table 4.1.²

Table 4.1 List of non members in Twenty-nine Local Associations of the EIS and the number on Branch Roll 1898.

Name	Female	Male	Total	Number on Branch Roll
Alford	9	5	14	20
Arbroath	-	-	-	52
Banff	40	13	53	114
Brechin	11	13	24	89
Caithness	16	6	22	54
Chirnside & Duns	7	8	15	34
Dumfries	21	24	45	152
Dundee	146	33	179	335
East Lothian	21	7	28	29
Edinburgh	136	50	186	564
Elgin	17	1	18	23
Glasgow	840	348	1188	1010
Hamilton	202	68	270	296
Hawick	22	11	33	25
Inverness	13	4	17	63
Kincardine	14	11	25	38
Kintyre	12	5	17	21
Kirkcudbright	18	5	23	64
Lanark	13	5	18	65
Lauderdale	9	0	9	8
Lochcarron	4	0	4	12
Melrose	36	14	50	42
Mull, Morvern &	2	0	2	12
Orkney	7	14	21	43
Peebles	15	4	19	15

[over

1. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1897/1900, 0897, SRO/GD/342/1/10, p.89.
2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1898, SRO/GD/342/1/10, pp.116-17.

Table 4.1 Continued

Name	Female	Male	Total	Number on Branch Roll
Renfrewshire	119	55	174	256
Shetland	6	12	18	19
Skye	14	15	29	25
Sutherland	11	7	18	16

Source: Reports of the Annual Proceedings of the EIS, 24 December 1898, pp.116-117.

These statistics confirmed that female teachers generally displayed a greater reluctance to join the EIS than men. This point applied to teachers in urban as well as rural areas in Scotland. In Glasgow, for example, some 840 female teachers declined to join the EIS compared with 348 men and in the rural locality of Caithness, the figures were 16 and 6 respectively.¹ There were only five Associations where a slightly higher margin of men failed to join the Institute and this was in the predominantly rural districts of Brechin, Skye, Shetland, Dumfries and Chirnside.² Table 4.1 also revealed the wide gap which frequently existed between possible membership of teachers on the branch roll in a district, with the actual membership of the EIS. For instance, in Dundee there was a total of 335 teachers in schools but only 179 subscribed to the EIS.³ However, this statement must allow for the possibility that many non members had joined the SCTA in preference to the EIS.⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. For example, in 1901, 700 teachers joined the SCTA in preference to the EIS. In the light of this information, the EIS, in that year, made the following recommendation: 'That the EIS and SCTA form a joint committee of 7 members, 3 of whom shall be elected onto the SCTA to secure joint action in matters of common interest', Reports of EIS Proceedings, 1901, SRO/GD/342/1/11, p.148.

This information induced the Committee of General Management to examine the underlying reasons for many female teachers' refusal to join the Institute. In doing so, they were forced to take into account the fact that the EIS offered very little practical incentive to women to join the Institute. The view expounded by a considerable body of female teachers was that they could simply 'not see the use of it'.¹ In elaborating on this point many felt that their position was marginal and unimportant in the central organisational structure of the EIS. As late as the 1890s, female teachers were complaining that

... though over half of the teachers in Scotland were females there had never yet been a female teacher on the General Committee of the EIS.²

Although this statement was actually inaccurate it was true to say that women members were grossly under-represented on the organisational committees of the EIS.³ Before 1900, not a single woman was appointed President or as office bearer of the Institute. Similarly, a female had never been elected president of a Local Association until 1896, when Miss Flora Stevenson and Miss Stephens were elected Presidents of the Edinburgh and Morayshire⁴ local Associations respectively. Meanwhile, the same picture was apparent in the composition of members on the sub committees, as

1. Mr. Bain, op.cit., p.95.

2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1892/1896, SRO/GD/342/1/9, p.75. This point was reinforced by the sex ratio of delegates attending the Annual Conference in that year; out of 550 delegates, there were 437 men and only 113 women members.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

reflected below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Composition of teachers on Sub Committees of the EIS in 1878 and 1898.

Committee	1878 Male	Female	Committee	1898 Male	Female
General Management	15	1	General Management	28	0
Finance	14	0	Finance	9	0
Board of Examiners	20	0	Board of Examiners	20	0
Special	-	-	Special	20	0

Source: Annual Reports of Proceedings of the EIS: 1878 and 1898
SRO/GD/342

It can be seen that a single female member was appointed onto the committee of General Management in 1878, but that nil representation was the prevailing situation in the period before 1900.

The general conclusion reached amongst senior male EIS officials was that greater attention ought to be paid towards the improvement of female representation within the organisational structure of the Institute. There was also a consensus that insufficient attention was focus^{ed} on 'women's interests' - defined as matters relating to the size of infant classes, the provision of accommodation for infants, sewing schedules and the inst^{ru}ction of domestic economy for schoolgirls.¹ Men's perceptions of 'women's interests' were articulated by the committee of the Stirlingshire Local Association. Commenting on the increase

1. Summary of Evidence of the Reports of EIS Proceedings 1872/1900.

in EIS membership for the year 1899 it was reported that:

Of the thirty proposed we are proud to notice that twelve are Ladies, so much for our attempt to cater for the fair sex and in fairness to ourselves, our cause, and to them we ought to still do more by way of practical papers on infant school work, sewing etc. to encourage their continued increase ... For certainly, the presence of the fair sex helps to brighten meetings of the sterner sex.¹

It is clear that many male officials optimistically believed that by taking a strategic interest in the work undertaken exclusively by female teachers that a much larger number of them would be induced to join the EIS. The practical outcome of these discussions was that a circular was sent out to all Local Associations in 1900 recommending the formation of a Ladies Committee to deal with specific issues that were of 'special interest to women teachers'.² From the outset, the circular stressed that the principal motive for forming a Ladies Committee was to increase female membership, stating that all matters:

... especially concerning Lady teachers might be duly dealt with and that all means might be used to bring within our fold of the Institute all Ladies of our profession who are not members.³

Another motive for welcoming women teachers' incorporation within the Institute was generated by male fears: that if women ever did form themselves into an independent national body it could further reduce membership rates inside the EIS. This phenomenon

-
1. Reports of EIS Proceedings, 1882/1900, 1889 SRO/GD/342/45/1, p.130
 2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1900, Report of Organisational Committee, 22 December 1900, p.22.
 3. Ibid.

however, did not occur and in 1900 a central Ladies Committee was officially inaugurated in Glasgow inside the EIS. *Officially*

The analysis has hitherto centred on the underlying motives of senior male EIS officials for encouraging female teachers to join the Institute. The next section concentrates on the role of the central Ladies Committee within the mainstream organisation of the EIS. In particular, it analyses their definition of the 'special interests of women teachers' and then assesses in turn whether their perceptions on this topic were in close harmony with those of senior male EIS officials.

Section two: Formation of a Ladies Committee 1900-1914;
Issues and Influences inside the EIS.

Miss Isabel Hamilton LLA speaking on behalf of the newly formed Ladies Committee in 1900 outlined the primary task which lay ahead.

It shall be the duty of the Ladies Committee to consider and bring before the Special Committee and the General Committee, proposals regarding those questions which especially affect the interests of women teachers.¹

In order to gain some official female representation on the organisational committees of the EIS, Miss Hamilton requested that all members from the Central Ladies Committee in Glasgow should be annually appointed onto the Committee of General Management.² This request was granted and in 1900 five single women teachers (comprising Isabel Hamilton, Jeannie Airlie (FEIS), Paisley, Jane Thompson, Glasgow, Agnes McMichael, Glasgow, and Christina Cameron LLA Edinburgh) became the first members of the Ladies Committee to be elected onto the Management Committee.³ In this capacity, the Central Ladies Committee became the official mouthpiece for the mass female fembership inside the EIS. It was they who shaped and defined 'women's issues' and essentially it was their views which were legitimised through the mainstream organisation.

1. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1897/1900, 1900, SRO/GD/342/1/10, p.137.
2. Ibid.
3. Between 1900 and 1914, the Ladies Central Committee in Glasgow was generally composed of 10 women, all of whom were represented on the General Committee of Management. Occasionally however, a male member attended their meetings in the capacity of Convener.

However they did receive suggestions and exchange views with various Local Ladies Committees which had been formed in approximately sixteen branches of the EIS after 1900.¹ Unfortunately, no detailed information exists in the EIS reports on the composition of these Local Ladies Committees,² but it would appear that the membership of each group was small and that they merely provided a nucleus of support for the ideas of the Central Ladies Committee. In theory, members from these local branches could be appointed onto the Central Committee but in practice it appears to have been the preserve of women who lived chiefly in the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee.³

Another significant feature of the Central Ladies Committee was that a considerable number of its members were also to be found on the Central Ladies Committee of the SCTA which was formed shortly after 1900.⁴ Correspondingly, similar issues were raised on the agenda of both committees and this identity was reinforced to some extent by the small turnover in the number of women annually appointed onto the Central Committee within the respective organisations.⁵ Effectively therefore, the perceptions

-
1. From the reports, it can be gleaned that in Dundee, Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Aberdeen, Stirlingshire and Melrose, local Ladies Committees were formed inside the EIS. However, the Annual Reports did not contain a complete breakdown of these local committees throughout Scotland before 1914.
 2. For example, there are no records stating the precise methods of appointing members onto the Local Ladies Committees in the EIS during the period under scrutiny.
 3. Summary of Evidence taken from the list of members who attended the meetings of the Central Ladies Committee between 1900 and 1914. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1900/1914 GD/342.
 4. Ibid. Reports of the Scottish Class Teachers Federation (hereafter called SCTA) 1896/1917, SRO/GD/342/59.
 5. Ibid. For example, in 1901, Isabel Hamilton, Christina Cameron and Agnes McMichael were members of the SCTA - the latter was elected Vice President of the Association in that year.

and views of a small minority of women were exerted on both bodies.

In practice, there was a wide divergence of opinion between the ideas of the Central Ladies Committee and the rank and file, concerning the issues of primary interest affecting female teachers as an occupational group.¹ Therefore, one important reason for examining the content of 'Women's Interests' as defined by the Central Ladies Committee is that it will lay the framework for a fuller explanation of the rift which existed between the views of the female leadership and those of the rank and file. In elaborating on these differing perceptions, the final section of this chapter will locate the issues of priority expressed amongst the female membership inside the EIS and the SCTA.

In the first year of its existence, the Committee of General Management reminded the Ladies Committee of its primary task when it endorsed the motion that ladies be asked,

... to consider the best means for inducing women teachers to join the Institute, proposing an inter-exchange of suggestions regarding the condition of women's work in each district and inviting information regarding the teaching of needlework.²

The Central Ladies Committee responded to this request by formulating a list of topics designated 'Women's Interests'. These topics received top priority at the meetings of the Central

1. See Section four of this chapter, pp.188-98.
2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1961/65, SRO/GD/342/1/11, pp.130-148.

Committee and they were also circulated for regular discussion amongst the local branches.¹ Essentially, there were six major issues identified as of 'special interest' to women teachers, comprising:

- (a) The desirability of asking the Department to accept needlework as a manual occupation for girls;
- (b) Suggestions regarding sewing schedules for girls;
- (c) The desirability of domestic training for girls during school hours;
- (d) Suggestions regarding the feeding or employment of children;
- (e) Suggestions on the size of infant classes and the proper construction of classrooms in the infant schools;
- (f) Suggestions for topics of discussion at the 'At Home' meetings.²

What was striking about this agenda was that the Central Committee's definition of 'Women's Interests' was highly specific and restrictive. They focused primary attention merely on two sectional groups comprising infant and domestic science teachers (notably, each of these groups previously had formed separate associations with the express view of representing their own interests) and they did not embrace the interests of the single

1. Summary of Evidence of the Central Ladies Committee's meetings between 1900 and 1914.
2. Ibid.

largest occupational group, that of female assistant certificated teachers. In so doing, the Ladies Committee accepted and institutionalised male EIS leaders' definitions of 'women's interests', as interests devoted to sewing, domestic science, infant teaching and related issues.¹ That is not to suggest that those particular topics were of marginal interest to specific sectional groups in the profession. On the contrary, issues such as the size of infant classes were of immense importance in the daily routine of an infant mistress since large classes (often reaching up to sixty pupils) could potentially place her under considerable strain from overwork.

A more contentious and debatable point concerned the 'At Home' meetings. These could be loosely described as social gatherings for women which had originated with the dual purpose of ensuring that the current female leadership would not lapse and of encouraging larger numbers of women teachers to join the EIS.² Social functions arranged by the Ladies Committees included various forms of musical and cultural entertainment, as well as the presentation of academic papers on various aspects of girls' education. Thus, a typical 'At Home' meeting would discuss topical papers such as 'The Question of Domestic Science

1. Mr. Bain, op.cit., p.159.

2. The Ladies Committee inside the SCTA also arranged these 'At Home' meetings. The underlying motive of arranging these social functions was amplified in an editorial which stated that, 'The Ladies Committee tried to induce all women to become members by the attraction of ladies' meetings, teas, dances, etc.', Reports of the SCTA 1902, SRO/GD/342/59, p.265.

instruction for girls in elementary schools'.¹ This particular issue was greeted with general approval, largely because by the early 1900s it was no longer an issue of major controversy.² An alternative form of discussion centred on the works of Scottish poets such as Robert Burns.

Another function of these 'At Home' meetings involved organising larger social gatherings for all members of the Institute, and on these occasions, the ladies were required to serve tea and biscuits. This particular responsibility could prove to be a time-consuming task and many meetings were devoted to discussing and organising these ventures alone. Male teachers frequently applauded lady members for organising such social gatherings. In assessing their relevance to the proceedings of the Institute as a whole, one male member commented,

The social function interconnection with the Institute play a by no means unimportant part ... while they form no doubt the lighter part of the congress proceedings it should never be forgotten that they are frequently the enunciation of definite views.³

8

-
1. It was most common for female representatives from urban school boards to present papers in support of domestic science instruction for schoolgirls; Mrs. Black, Miss Bannatyne and Miss Grace Paterson from the Glasgow School Board all presented papers on this subject at these 'At Home' meetings in the EIS. For further information on the respective careers of Mrs. Black and G. Paterson see chapter five, section three, pp.243-47.
 2. Before 1900 there was considerable opposition to the teaching of domestic economy for girls during school hours. For example, in 1880, Mr. Hutchison then President of the EIS firmly stated that, 'Domestic economy cannot be advantageously taught in many small schools. It is therefore felt to be a hardship to the school and wrong to the girls that another subject cannot be substituted for it.' Reports of EIS Proceedings 1880, SRO/GD/342/1/7, p.56. For information on the shifting attitudes towards the instruction of domestic subjects in the schoolgirls' curriculum during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see chapter five.
 3. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1901/5, 1902, SRO/GD/342/1/11, pp.126-7.

However, although this male teacher was defending social gatherings, his description of them forming 'the lighter part of the congress proceedings' was an indirect comment on the marginal nature of many activities performed by the respective Ladies Committees. However meaningful the 'At Home' meetings were as a springboard for discussing ideas, they were a diversion from organising important campaigns of more material interest to women teachers.

For example, the subject of female teachers' wages was rarely a prominent feature on the agenda of the Central Committee.¹ Moreover, although individual members were in agreement that women teachers should receive higher wages, at no stage was the Central Committee prepared to launch a full scale campaign to achieve this objective. This was quite remarkable given that economic discrimination weighted far more heavily against women and ought, logically, to have qualified amongst the topics of 'special interest to women teachers'. On the controversial issue of equal pay between the sexes, their response was also negative. Both of the Ladies Committees in the EIS and the SCTA opposed the principle of equal pay when it was raised for debate by the Glasgow Local Association in 1914.² Likewise, on other

1. Occasionally, official statements on female teachers' wages were made in the reports of the Ladies Committee. For example, in 1900, the Committee resolved that, 'a paper should be printed showing the scales of salaries for women teachers in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Govan and Cathcart', Reports of EIS Proceedings, 1901/5, 1901, SRO/GD/342/1/11, p.148. A more explicit statement on female teachers' wages was made in 1913, 'In view of the inadequate salaries paid to so many women teachers throughout the country, the Committee urges the Council to draw up a new scale of salaries and take measures to have such scales enforced.' Reports of EIS Proceedings 1913, SRO/GD/342/1/16, p.115.

2. See section four of this chapter, pp.186-7.

major issues affecting the material interests of female teachers the Central Ladies Committee was silent.¹ Demands from the rank and file for greater career and promotional opportunities did not regularly appear amongst the list of topics of priority comprised by the Central Committee.

A plausible explanation for the Ladies' Committee's failure to embark upon issues of a more radical and far-reaching nature was that they were intent on avoiding potential areas of conflict with men. As will be argued later in this chapter, the issue of pay and promotion was a definite source of tension² between male and female members and yet these tensions did not appear to surface at a senior level in the EIS between the sexes. Basically, by refusing to become actively involved on either of these issues, the Ladies Committee did not constitute a threat to the ideas of male officials. As an alternative to encroaching on territories of mutual interest (but more especially to women) the Ladies Committee engaged itself in separate activities such as the 'At Home' meetings and they concentrated on separate spheres of work undertaken exclusively by infant and domestic science teachers.

1. It should be pointed out however, that individual members of the Ladies Committee did hold separate views which were at variance with the general outlook of the Committee as a corporate group. For elaboration of this point see p. 163 fn.1 on Isabel Hamilton.
2. See section four of this chapter, pp.186-95.

In this way, gender divisions of labour which had permeated certain sectors of elementary schools were actively reproduced in the activities of the Ladies' Committees inside Scottish Teachers Associations after 1900.

Notably, each individual topic selected for regular discussion by the various Ladies' Committees had already received prior approval by the ^{dominated} male/Committee of General Management before 1900.¹ Hence there was nothing particularly radical or innovatory in the proposals put forward by the Ladies' Committee after that period. It could be argued that their unwillingness to place new and more radical issues on the agenda at meetings was ^{again} in keeping with the Ladies Committee's desire to avoid potential areas of conflict with their male counterparts. In essence therefore, the Ladies Committee was ineffective in terms of making a genuine effort to represent the material interests of female teachers as a whole.

Moreover, they failed significantly to enlarge women teachers' representation on the organisational committees of the EIS after 1900. To illustrate this point, table 4.3 gives a breakdown of men and women teachers elected onto the various sub-committees in 1904 and 1914.

1. Summary of evidence from Reports of EIS Proceedings 1874/1900.

Table 4.3. Number of Teachers Elected onto Committees of the EIS in 1904 and 1914.

Committee	1904		1914	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
General Management	54	7	62	9
Special	15	1	15	1
Finance	5	0	8	0
Parl. & Emergency	3	0	3	1
Educational News	6	0	-	-
Class Teachers	6	2	-	-
Rural Teachers	8	0	9	2
Higher Education	-	-	7	0

Archive Source: Annual Reports of the Proceedings of the EIS 1904 and 1914, EIS Headquarters, Edinburgh.

It can be seen that apart from membership on the Committee of General Management female teachers were scarcely represented. In fact, the main vehicle for ambitious female members to rise to prominence was principally through membership on the Central Ladies' Committee since it ensured a coveted position on the General Management Committee. Virtually all of the early members of the Central Ladies Committee eventually acquired senior positions in the EIS. For example, Miss Isabel Hamilton, a founder member and perhaps the most radical member of the Central Committee,¹ became the first female Vice-President of the Institute in 1905.¹⁹ A

-
1. Isabel Hamilton supported equal pay for women teachers. At a meeting of the Ladies Committee, she criticised the differentiated salary scales comprised by senior EIS male officials because of the, '... principle of paying more to men than to women for doing the same work'. Her non-conformist attitudes within the Committee extended to her criticism of sex discrimination in the allocation of bursary allowances in training colleges and at the universities, exclaiming that, '... at the present time the great majority of girls were shut out simply because they were girls ... How else could they account for the fact that a boy who passed the University preliminary exam got a bursary of £25 of which £5 was to be spent on fees and books and a girl only got £5'. Minute Book of Glasgow Local Association, 12 May 1899, EIS Headquarters, Glasgow. It would appear, however, that Miss Hamilton's views were exceptional in terms of the general stance adopted by the Ladies Committee on such issues.

more outstanding example of upward mobility achieved through the Ladies' Committee was reflected in the successful career of Miss Elizabeth Fish LLA FEIS. Miss Fish was an elementary school teacher in Glasgow and in 1902 she was made Convener of the Central Ladies' Committee.¹ She was an untiring propagandist inside the EIS, and in 1910, her efforts were rewarded when she was elected President of Glasgow Local Association. Three years later, she reached the pinnacle of her career when she became the first female President of the EIS since its foundation in 1847.

It is worthwhile examining the ^{official} views of this female leader since she embodied and symbolised the views held by the majority of members of the Central Ladies' Committee on fundamental issues such as equal pay between the sexes and the position of women teachers inside the EIS.

Her attitudes concerning the small number of women who ever obtained influential positions in the Institute were illuminated as a result of an important remark made by Vice-President Alexander Mackay BA, FEIS. In a welcoming address for Miss Fish, he stated his reasons for this phenomenon. Referring to her as a 'champion of women teachers', he said:

Frankly I confess astonishment that the great body of women teachers who constitute such a large percentage of our members have not before now

1. Elizabeth Fish was also a prominent member on the Central Ladies Committee of the SCTA in Glasgow.

raised one of their number to this position of dignity and responsibility. But this is but another illustration of the deep-seated caution and innate conservatism of the Scottish character.¹

Elizabeth Fish firmly rejected the Vice-President's analysis, in favour of the view that female teachers were essentially apathetic and 'had for a long time contented themselves by asking men to speak for them'.² Elaborating on this alternative, she rejected the prevalent assumption that the EIS had little to offer female teachers.³

The President then turned to the question of equal pay between the sexes and acknowledged that it was currently an issue of controversy and debate amongst members of the various Scottish Teachers' Associations. Miss Fish argued that she was in favour of paying female teachers higher wages but was firmly opposed to the principle of equal pay. Her reasons for adopting this stance related to the supply and demand of the labour force. In her view,

It would be a disastrous thing for our country were the work of education to fall almost entirely into the hands of women ... men teachers

-
1. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1913, SRO/GD/342/1/15, p.51.
 2. Ibid. E. Fish's speech was quoted in the Educational News, 9 January 1914, pp.29-30.
 3. See section one of this chapter, p.147.

are scarce and their service can naturally command a higher price than that of women which is so abundantly offered. If we women teachers ask that the salaries of all teachers be now raised to the level of what men teachers think theirs ought to be we shall alienate the sympathies of the public.¹

The President's views on equal pay were in total harmony with the official policy of the male leadership and in this speech she made it abundantly clear that she fully endorsed it. After dismissing counter-arguments in favour of equal pay, the so-called 'champion' of female teachers turned her attention to another current debate concerning whether or not the NIS should adopt trade union methods to obtain higher pay for teachers.² On this issue Miss Fish was emphatically opposed to the adoption of trade union methods and particularly if it involved taking strike action to achieve higher wages. Her rationale for maintaining this stance was intricately bound up with the concept of school teaching as a profession and public recognition of it as such. In an illuminating speech Miss Fish elaborated on these ideas,

We must never be unmindful of our "high calling" and of the dignity of the profession ... If teaching be indeed a profession and not a mere trade, it must not resort to the methods of the trade unions in its demands for increased

1. Ibid.

2. See section three of this chapter, pp.178-81.

remuneration ... How if we pursue such methods shall we ever convince people of the importance of our task when we declare ourselves unwilling to leave it unperformed at the bidding of class interest. How shall we teach to the children, lessons of peace and good will and the brotherhood of man when a teacher declares that peaceful means have failed to secure salaries/^{and} he decides it is time to resort to violent methods ... I wish for an increase in the salaries of teachers not as a result of violent action on their part but as the result of a universal acknowledgement that their work hitherto has not received the remuneration to which it was entitled. Thus, only shall we gain our end with the increased respect of the community we serve.

Elizabeth Fish's preoccupation with professional status and public recognition provides another crucial reason for the Ladies' Committee's failure to initiate a more decisive campaign for higher salaries. Essentially, the Ladies Committee was imbued with certain professional ideals which actively inhibited the attainment of more material and economic goals. In this respect, the Ladies' Committees were not unique. On the contrary, the attitudes of the Central Ladies Committee on issues such as professional status and public recognition were in close harmony with the deep-seated values of different generations of EIS male leaders ever since its foundation in 1847. In effect, the Ladies' Committee accepted these goals of professional status and the improvement of teachers' social standing within the community as models for themselves. To explain this point more fully, the following section examines the major goals

1. Educational News, op.cit., pp.29-30.

constructed by EIS male officials and the manner in which they were staunchly upheld in spite of fundamental changes in educational legislation and policy during the nineteenth^{teenth} and twentieth centuries. This in turn should lay the framework for discussing, in the concluding section, the ever-increasing rift which took place between the views of the Ladies' Committee and male leaders, with the rank and file membership concerning the issues of priority which affected each sex within the teaching profession.

Section three: Professional Goals and Status of Teachers in the EIS: 1847-1914.

From its inception, claims for professional status and public recognition constituted the major goals of the EIS.¹ These ambitions stemmed from prevalent fears that the schoolmaster was treated as an 'inferior by the middle classes' which in turn cast doubts on his standing within the community.² It was accompanied by the deeply rooted conviction that school teaching did not take its deserved place amongst the established legal, clerical, and medical professions. In a bid to raise the professional status of teachers, the founding members mapped out the primary objective of the EIS as:

1. The concept of professional status is documented here as perceived through the eyes of senior male EIS officials between 1847 and 1914. However, there are a wide ranging number of secondary sources on this subject, including A. Blum, Teachers Unions and Associations: A Comparative Study (University of Illinois 1969); B.H. Bergen, 'Only a Schoolmaster: Gender, Class, and the Effort to Professionalise Elementary Teaching in England 1870-1910' in History of Education Quarterly, Spring 1982, pp.1-23; A.M. Carr Saunders and P.A. Wilson, The Professions (1933); B. Barber, 'Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions' in Daedalus, 92, 4 (1963); T. Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory (New York, 1954), esp. 'The Professions and Social Structure'; M.L. Cogan, 'Towards a Definition of Profession', Harvard Educational Review, 23 (1953); R. Hall, 'Professionalisation and Bureaucratisation', American Sociological Review, 33 (1968); M. Pollard, The Teachers (Eastland Press 1974).
2. A.J. Belford, op.cit., pp.67-68.

... to improve the condition of the teacher and to enable him to take that place in society to which his character, attainment and professional status entitle ... and ... to obtain as a consequence a higher social position for the teacher so that the scholastic profession shall have its recognised place in the same way as the clerical, legal and the medical profession.¹

In pursuit of these goals, the founding members strategically attempted to build an exclusive organisation based on the attainment of academic skills and high entry qualifications into the Institute. The first step in this direction was taken in 1848 when a clause was introduced making it:

... indispensable for applicants to produce the certificate or diploma of the EIS in order to be hired as a schoolmaster in a school supported by public funds.²

The difficulty was however, that without Government recognition of EIS certificates there was little incentive for teachers to acquire them. To remove this obstacle, Dr. Leonard Schmitz, the first President of the EIS, applied for a Royal Charter to sanction EIS certification.³ The Charter was granted in 1851 but it merely noted that one of the functions of the EIS was to assess teachers' qualifications without making the certificate a compulsory prerequisite for joining the EIS.⁴ Undaunted by this failure, the founding members set up an elaborate and rigorous system of examinations in their efforts to promote 'sound learning in Scotland'.⁵

1. Ibid.
2. J.D. Myers, op.cit., pp.77-93.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

From the outset, therefore, the aim of the forerunners was definitely not to embrace all teachers in Scotland and indeed it actively discouraged uncertificated teachers from joining its ranks in case it placed the goal of higher professional status in jeopardy. Different ranks of membership were established based on occupation, qualification, teaching experience and competence. Consequently, its membership comprised several distinct occupational groups each with its own sectional interests and specific grievances. At its foundation in September 1847, the membership was reported as 1,300 and it was primarily made up of burgh and higher grade schoolmasters, parochial schoolmasters, and a variety of denominational and independent elementary schoolmasters.¹

On one level, every single occupational group welcomed the goals of professional status and public recognition. Certainly, they enthusiastically endorsed EIS policy of seeking closer political involvement with the Government on questions relating to national educational legislation. Thus, they applauded EIS President, James Bryce, when he proclaimed in 1853,

Our duty now is Gentlemen, to make the Government acquainted with our objects and the provisions of our charter and we must assert our right to have a voice in the educational arrangements of our country and to have a much larger share in the management than we have hitherto enjoyed.²

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

In practice, however, there was an unresolved tension between the professional ideals and the methods employed to achieve these goals of the EIS leadership on the one hand, and the economic and material interests of the mass membership on the other. Many male teachers joined the EIS in the belief that it would result in higher remuneration, greater security, and improved living standards, but in actuality, these ideals were subordinate to the overriding objective of achieving higher social standing for teachers. An ideological conflict emerged between the leadership and membership with respect to the question of social standing and its relationship to the economic status of teachers. In this context, the issue of salaries was by far the most controversial, because it brought to the fore, fundamental differences of opinion concerning the best strategy towards achieving professional status for teachers.¹

The traditional view expressed by the EIS leadership was that the attainment of higher remuneration could be gained by convincing the community that school teaching should be accepted as one of the established professions. The alternative view expressed amongst the male membership was that low salaries were an

1. A.J. Belford, op.cit., p.3.

overt statement of the low social standing of teachers and unless more positive action was adopted on this issue, school teaching would never be elevated amongst the established professions. These conflicting arguments were manifested in various ways. The strategy adopted by the EIS leadership was to avoid detailed discussions on the issue of teachers' salaries. A.J. Belford, the official EIS historian, confirmed that shortly after the foundation of the EIS in 1847, '... there was a definite reluctance to deal with salary matters' in the fear that it would invoke public disapproval.¹

By contrast, the independent course of action adopted by each sectional occupational grouping was to canvass and petition the Government for higher remuneration on their own behalf. Notably, the response of educationalists and leading Parliamentarians such as Dr. Lyon Playfairs was to take advantage of their disunity and hold the EIS leadership to ransom. According to Belford,

Parliamentarians and other public men interested in education told representatives of sections of teachers that they were sick of memorials, petitions, resolutions and deputations actuated

1. Ibid. In addition, Belford suggests that prior to the foundation of the EIS, some attempts had been made by schoolmasters to obtain higher salaries. For example in 1737, the Edinburgh Society for Teachers was founded with the express aim '... to procure the revision and alteration of the salary clause of the Statute of 1696'. Nonetheless the attempts of this society to improve the parish schoolmasters' salaries proved abortive.

by self interest, that teachers were impeding the setting up of a national system of education ... and that the teaching profession would have to settle differences within their own ranks, attain unity of policy and act as a united body.¹

As a consequence of the disunity and fragmentation of interests amongst the leadership and membership alike, very little progress was made on the 'salary question' in the years leading up to the 1872 Act.

The passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act was a watershed in the history of the EIS. There were two important clauses which placed teachers in a more precarious and insecure position than at any time previously. Section 55 of the Act stated clearly that '... any teacher appointed after 1872 held office during the pleasure of the board' which in effect meant that teachers could be dismissed without the board having to specify the reasons for its decision. Section 55 of the Act also stated '... that school boards shall assign such salaries or emoluments as they see fit'. Both clauses left teachers at the mercy of school boards and in the course of the late nineteenth century, there were numerous reports of victimisation and unfair dismissal.²

Yet in spite of these fundamental changes in educational policy, the EIS leadership was reticent to adopt a more radical approach towards achieving higher remuneration. The original aims

-
1. P.P. 1873, Cmd. 812 Vol. XXIV. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, 33 and 36 Vict. c 62 & 52 p.CXXV.
 2. Ibid. For further information on unfair dismissal of teachers see T.R. Bone (ed.) 'The Dismissal of Ordinary Teachers 1873-1882', in Studies in the History of Scottish Education (1967), pp.85-133.

of the founder members continued to dictate the strategems of Presidents elected after 1872, in terms of the items regularly of agenda/discussed at EIS meetings. These points were reflected in their tendency to give priority to administrative measures aimed at enhancing the national prestige of the Institute.

Thus, the leadership concentrated their campaigns on issues such as superannuation, registration of teachers (aimed at controlling entry into the profession) and the representation of teachers on prestigious official educational committees.¹ On this latter issue, the leadership was successful in securing the representation of teachers on the Provincial Committees for the training of teachers after 1906. Otherwise, they were instrumental in bringing pressure to bear on the Government on specific matters relating to teachers' security of tenure and superannuation. The response of the Government on both of these issues was positive; under the Mundella Act of 1882, legislation was introduced which provided that school boards must give due notice of the intention to dismiss the teacher,² while a Superannuation Act was introduced for teachers in 1897.³

In spite of these concessions gained by the EIS leadership, discontent on the issue of salaries remained by far the most

1. Summary of evidence from the Reports of EIS Proceedings 1873/1914.
2. T.R. Bone, op.cit., pp.55-133.
3. For further information on the EIS campaign for suitable superannuation schemes for teachers in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries see A.J. Belford, op.cit., pp.354-5.

fundamental topic of discussion amongst the rank and file.¹

In recognition of this fact, the leadership was compelled to lay down some policy guidelines on the related issues of salaries and school boards. With respect to school boards, the leaders were in full agreement that employers were responsible for generating acute economic insecurity amongst teachers by producing such extreme disparities in pay throughout Scotland. However, rather than supporting members' demands for their complete removal, many individual EIS leaders recommended larger areas of school board administration; retiring President Mr. Hugh McCallum argued in 1913 that

It is recognised that various anomalies and injustices, injustices to individuals and to communities are due to the retention of the parish as the educational unit and that the removal of these can be affected only by the substitution of larger areas.²

Notably, this recommendation was made only five years before the Government acted on its own initiative and actually abolished school boards altogether.³

The official EIS policy on teachers' wages was equally ineffective. After 1872, the leadership continued to maintain that the achievement of professional status remained the first priority and this in turn would generate higher levels of remuneration. In this respect, there was a fundamental continuity

1. See section four of this chapter.

2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1913, headquarters Edinburgh, retiring Presidential Speech pp.48-49.

3. In England, the Government had abolished school boards in 1902, and they were replaced by local education authorities under the 1902 Education Act.

in the EIS leadership's policy throughout the period. The only detectable difference was that after 1872 they were more prepared to supervise efforts to bring pressure to bear on the Government to introduce nationalised salary scales for teachers in Scotland. The leading characteristics of this policy were higher and more standardised salary scales accompanied by the retainment of pay differentials between male and female teachers. Their preparedness to press for more conformity in salary scales after 1872 was in keeping with the leadership's concern to standardise the professional social status of teachers.

In accordance with these policies numerous circulars were sent out from EIS headquarters to members requesting information on teachers' salaries' in each school board district. To deal with divergencies in the wages of teachers in country areas, a rural teachers' salaries sub committee was inaugurated and the findings of this committee confirmed ^{that} /for the year 1911, wide variations existed in teachers' wages throughout rural districts of Scotland.¹ The leadership's most common response was to devise ideal salary scales along sex specific lines. These scales were almost invariably higher than the maximum salary comprised by each individual school board but nonetheless, they were sent out as a matter of course /to each board for its approval.² In addition, they compiled several

1. See chapter three, table 3.3.

2. Summary of evidence from the Reports of EIS Proceedings 1873/1914.

lists of letters, ~~memorials~~, memoranda, and deputations urging the permanent secretary, Henry Craik and more latterly John Struthers, to introduce a ^{greater degree of} conformity in salary scales.¹

However, these efforts as a rule, proved to be futile and the EIS leadership failed to make a decisive impact on official policy making decisions concerning the 'salaries issue' before 1914. Moreover, although some leaders were fully aware that they had not made much headway on the 'salaries issue' they were prepared to accept defeat principally because of their desire to avoid public controversy. In accordance with this philosophical stance, they rejected outright the option of organising a teachers' strike for higher pay. The failure of the leadership to initiate strike action was the subject of much internal controversy amongst the mass membership of the EIS particularly in the years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War.² There was mounting pressure from within the ranks in favour of adopting more militant tactics on wages along the lines propagated by the trade union movement. Disenchantment with the leadership's policy on wages was further accentuated by events taking place in England.

1. Ibid.

2. For further information on contemporary debates relating to trade unions and strike action see the Educational News between 1912 and 1914. For example, see H. Gaul, 'Teachers' Professional Union', Educational News 10 July 1914, pp.669-70.

Under the auspices of the NUT 130 teachers went out on strike for higher pay and more uniform salary scales in the County of Herefordshire in September 1913.¹ By February 1914, the strike had resulted in the closure of sixty schools in the county and the resignations of the teachers. However, before all the notices of teachers had expired, negotiations between the NUT and a special committee of the county council commenced, and both sides eventually agreed on a salary scale which compared favourably with other localities. In addition, the NUT successfully secured the reinstatements of all teachers to their former teaching posts.²

The success of this strike action convinced many Scottish teachers that the policies of the NUT were more progressive and effective than those of the EIS.³ Their convictions were further reinforced by the inauguration of a special salaries committee in England in 1913 which was designed 'to formulate and put into operation a national campaign to secure the adoption of the union scale of salaries'.⁴ The strategy adopted by the NUT was to attempt to unify the sectional interests of each

1. For a fuller account of this strike action see A. Tropp, op.cit., pp.203-207.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. According to Tropp, the first incidence of strike action by teachers took place in Portsmouth in 1896.
4. Ibid.

occupational group on this issue. Hence, delegates from ten national teachers' organisations met to discuss a common policy on salaries and as a result of these negotiations, higher salary scales were introduced in 149 districts out of 321 areas under the London Education Authorities by 1914.¹ These concessions were interpreted by many Scottish teachers as another indication of the failure of the EIS leadership to canvass similar support for a national wage agreement. This feeling was heightened by the EIS leadership's refusal to replace the word Institute by the term Scottish Union of Teachers in line with their counterparts in England.

Overt disenchantment with the traditional policies of the EIS was expressed in the formation of a left wing splinter group, the Socialist Teachers' Society (STS) in 1905. Its stronghold of support appears to have been rooted in Glasgow and from its inception, the STS drew much of its inspiration from two elementary schoolteachers, James Maxton,² and John Maclean³ - both of whom later acquired national reputations

1. Ibid.

2. A stimulating biography by W.W. Knox, on James Maxton is shortly to be published in W.W. Knox (ed.) Scottish Labour Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary (Edinburgh 1983) and in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.) Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol. ? (198?).

3. For further information on the educational and political activities of John Maclean see J. Broom, John Maclean (MacDonald Press, 1973); N. Milton, John Maclean (Pluto Press, 1973); W.W. Knox, John Maclean, forthcoming publication in W.W. Knox (ed.) op.cit., (1983) and J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.) op.cit., (198?).

during the Clydeside agitation during the First World War.¹

In spite of the fact that the STS did not appear to command widespread support outside of Glasgow, it was considered to be a serious threat by senior EIS officials principally because of the danger that its members could affect and influence the views of the members within the Institute. The formation of the STS, was a definite attempt to construct an alternative programme for teachers based on socialist principles and it represented one identifiable platform where rank and file members with leftist sympathies could express their own ideas.

Other strands of opposition to the policies of the EIS leaders were not so easily discernible. Nevertheless, to gain a deeper insight into the reasons for discontentment inside the ranks of Scottish Teachers' Associations, the final section will examine two major issues of importance to male and female teachers - wages and promotions. Particular attention will be focused on the opinions between the sexes on equal pay and it will be argued that acute disagreement on this issue largely prevented the formation of a united opposition against the EIS Leadership's ineffective policy on wages shortly before the outbreak of the First World War.

1. Ibid.

Section four: Equal Pay or Not? Opinions of the Rank and File
Inside Scottish Teachers Association 1912-1914.

Neither in social standing nor in emoluments do we take our place among the professions' history ... we feel the time is ripe to claim public recognition of our position ... The intense feeling of unrest in the ranks of our profession to-day is due to the conviction that the public has failed to realise the altered conditions of things.

The above testimony accurately pinpointed some of the major reasons for widespread discontentment amongst the rank and file membership of the EIS. However, instead of criticising the public, other members condemned the EIS leadership for its failure to adapt its policies in response to changes in educational legislation and economic circumstances. Disillusionment within the ranks grew more intense after 1872 and derived from a growing awareness that the rhetoric of professional status actively inhibited the achievement of popular demands such as the abolition of school boards. In particular, it was the leadership's adamant refusal to introduce a more radical policy on wages which formed the basis for the rift with the rank and file movement.

Resentment was most pronounced amongst assistant certificated teachers since the salary and promotional prospects of this group were most severely restricted.² A male assistant could

1. H. Gaul, 'Teachers' Professional Union', Educational News, 10 July 1914, pp.669-70.
2. There were several complaints registered in the Educational News by disgruntled male assistants on the related issues of salaries and promotion. An explanation of the underlying reasons for the lack of promotion was expounded by a male assistant who claimed that: 'School boards now find that the creation of the large school has brought them face to face with its consequence, the 'permanent assistant' and they realise that as this action has stopped promotion to headmasterships. It rests with them to devise some method whereby the experience gained in teaching may be suitably rewarded'. Educational News 6 June 1896, p.427.

wait several years for promotion due to the small turnover in the number of headships in Scotland.¹ The failure of the EIS to pay sufficient attention to the economic grievances of assistant teachers was a major reason for the formation of the splinter organisation of the SCTA. A more detailed explanation for its separate existence was provided by a founder member in 1896.

The chief though not the only reason which has led to the formation of these associations and ultimately to their federation has been the salary question. The public mind has formed an altogether erroneous opinion about the value and position of the assistant in the education of the future citizen and this has arisen from the designation "Assistant". Yet the assistant has had a long and expensive training, has served as a pupil teacher, has been duly certificated by the government as capable of taking charge of a school, has in many cases attended University.²

The SCTA therefore, provided a suitable platform for assistant teachers³ to articulate their dissatisfaction with the prospects of 'lifelong assistantship' and low remuneration. These views were vividly expressed in their official monthly pamphlet, The Class Teacher. The pamphlet regularly published a series of letters and articles vehemently attacking the role of employers for devising inadequate salary scales. Yet in spite of

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Full title is assistant certificated teachers.

incessant complaints, memorials and deputations, assistant teachers failed to make much headway on the salaries issue.¹ Part of the problem was that the leaders of the SCTA shared the same ideological values and professional ideals that were deeply embedded in their counterparts within the EIS. The SCTA leadership displayed a similar caution and reluctance to arouse public disapproval on teachers' pay. Their failure to act more decisively on assistant teachers' wages generated similar disillusionment inside the SCTA.

Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, assistant teachers inside both associations were beginning to revise their tactics quite independently from the leadership. In an editorial in The Class Teacher the idea of open rebellion against the traditional strategy of the leadership was propounded.

For years now we have been pretty well content simply to draw up and adopt more or less ideal scales of salaries which were never adopted by school boards, but we have found such a policy a fatuous one and a more strenuous method will soon be forced upon us. All over the country rural teachers and urban teachers, male teachers and female teachers, head teachers and class teachers, are alike tired of the old so-called dignified position of "rest and be thankful" and their minds and thoughts are rapidly turning to other methods of procedure, likely to be more successful than those of the past.²

1. Summary of Evidence from The Class Teacher 1900/1914.

2. A.J. Bedford, op.cit., p.214.

The most likely course of action suggested was a teachers' strike.¹ However, in spite of endless discussions on the possibility of organising a strike, no definite strategy was ever adopted, primarily due to the intense disagreements and rivalry between sectional groups inside the EIS and the SCTA. This prevented the consolidation of a united front against the leadership over the issue of pay.

If anything, the sectional interests of various occupational groups had become more intense after 1872. This was in part due to the increased vulnerability of teachers following the creation of school boards, but mainly to the large entry of women into the profession since the early 1870s. Male assistant certificated teachers, in particular, felt extremely threatened and insecure with the knowledge that school boards frequently preferred the services of female assistant certificated teachers on the grounds that they could be employed at a cheaper rate. One major consequence of feminisation was that pay became a decisive source of tension between the sexes inside the ranks of the EIS and SCTA dating from the 1890s onwards. In order to explain, therefore, why the rank and file was unable to construct an alternative strategy on wages the remainder of this chapter will focus on the conflicting views expressed amongst the sexes regarding gender differentials in teachers' pay.

1. Educational News, op.cit., pp.669-670.

The most explicit exposition of the various arguments occurred in 1913, when the controversial subject of equal pay was raised for debate within the ranks of the Glasgow local associations of the EIS and SCTA.¹ A circular was sent out to all members of the EIS branches canvassing opinion on the proposal of 'equality in pay for men and women teachers'.² A summary of this report was published in the Educational News in June 1914.³ The supporters of equal pay gave the following reasons for approving the proposal,

Teachers' organisations exist primarily to raise the status of the teacher by securing adequate remuneration. In order that an organisation may do this, a vast majority of teachers must be members of it and each must accept a full share of its responsibilities. Only if such an organisation proves itself anxious to obtain full value for the work and length of service, showing no sex or other bias can it hope to gain and keep members.⁴

Further reasons for supporting the principle of equal pay were that the conditions of service (including the qualifications of teachers) were fixed irrespective of sex and that the 'price of the necessities of life' were the same for unmarried male and female teachers.⁵

1. 'Proposal for Equal Pay for Men and Women Teachers', Educational News, 26 June, 1913, pp. 637-38.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

Meanwhile the opponents of equal pay drew attention to the 'family wage' as the chief justification for maintaining differentiated salary scales according to sex, observing that,

The existing economic conditions cannot be ignored in dealing with questions of salaries. The man teacher is normally married; the woman teacher is normally unmarried. The man's income is normally a family income; the woman's income is normally an individual income ... Equality of payment ... would therefore mean inequality of treatment unless celibacy is to be a requirement for all men.¹

The opponents concluded that the principle of equal pay was 'altogether impracticable and impossible at the present time'. In support of this contention, they pointed out that in spite of a larger proportion of women in the NUT than the EIS, the NUT had overwhelmingly rejected embarking upon a campaign for equal pay by 42,974 votes to 9,184 in 1913. In that year, the Association of London Teachers 'had the practical good sense' to reject a similar proposal by 9,649 votes to 3,396.²

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. The position of the NUT on the equal pay issue in England is analysed by D. Turner, 'Equal Pay for Equal Work? The Equal Pay Dispute in the NUT: 1919-1923' (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Warwick, 1979). A. Oram is also currently researching into the attitudes of the NUT to equal pay in a forthcoming Ph.D thesis.

reached
The chief conclusion/from the Scottish report was that 1,608 members voted against the proposal for equal pay and 922 voted in favour of it.¹ On the basis of this vote, the Glasgow EIS branch decided to reject the proposal and it was not formally raised before the General Management Committee for national discussion.² Notably the Glasgow Local Association failed to give a statistical breakdown of the supporters and opponents according to sex, and as a result, it is impossible to use voting returns to prove sexual polarity over this issue.

Fortunately, when a vote on equal pay was taken by the Glasgow branch of the SCTA in 1912, a breakdown according to gender was included in the reports, and hence, these statistics are more revealing. The results of this questionnaire are featured below in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Votes on Equal Pay by Members of Glasgow Local Association of the SCTA: 1912.

	In favour	Against	
Males	160	Males	600
Females	1,478	Females	296
TOTAL	1,638	TOTAL	896

Source: Minute Book of the SCTA Glasgow Local Association, 22 November 1912, p.12: EIS Headquarters, Glasgow.

1. Educational News, op.cit., pp.637-638.

2. Minute Book of the SCTA Glasgow Local Association, 27 February 1914, p.254.

It can be seen that female assistant certificated teachers overwhelmingly supported the proposal of equal pay whereas the majority of men were opposed to it. It was a decisive indication of the deep divisions which existed between the sexes on the issue of equal pay in Glasgow, although it should be pointed out that a national plebiscite amongst female teachers on the equal pay proposal may have produced different results. At the same time, the Glasgow vote was also indicative of the conflicting differences in opinion which existed between the Central Ladies' Committee and the rank and file female membership of the SCTA in Glasgow. This was manifested in the Central Ladies' Committee's opposition to 'equal pay for equal work' in spite of the massive support it commanded within the female ranks in Glasgow.

The result of the questionnaire led to a special general meeting of the SCTA in Glasgow, for further debate on the feasibility of paying female teachers equal wages with men of the same occupational status. A female certificated teacher moved the following motion:

That this meeting call on the Association to do all in their power to bring about the equalisation of salaries between men and women teachers.

In support of this motion, a male assistant added the radical insertion that,

1. Ibid.

This Association petition the school boards in the area immediately asking for an increase of fifteen per cent¹ (in wages) for ladies and ten per cent for men.

However, the motion received a hostile response from the majority of male ~~assistant~~ teachers and they continued firmly to reject the principle of equal pay. Indeed, the proposal caused so much acrimony between the sexes that the convening committee decided to postpone further discussion on this subject, on the grounds that a decrease in membership which had occurred in the first six months of 1914 had corresponded with the heated debates on equal pay.² In elaborating on this view, the report stated that,

the Committee also feel that the proposed plebiscite on the equal salaries question ought to be postponed as the present unsettled state of public opinion would not tend to a fair and reasoned decision on this subject.³

The practical outcome of this decision meant that the subject of equal pay between the sexes in teaching was effectively squashed at the outbreak of the First World War in Scotland.

The formal summary of arguments presented in the respective reports of the SCTA and EIS disguised the enormous confusion and inherent complexities involved in the discussion of equal pay for female certificated teachers.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

From the standpoint of male assistant teachers, there were two basic but conflicting beliefs; on the one hand, they were unanimous in their opposition to equal pay and this was expressed in their concern to maintain differentiated and lower salary scales for female teachers; on the other hand, they were highly critical of female teachers for accepting lower wages from employers on the grounds that it weakened the wage bargaining power of male teachers. In this respect, female teachers were perceived as such a threat to their own economic prospects that it blurred and ultimately prevented any serious hope of unity on the question of equal pay. The rationale of these fears were encapsulated by a male assistant who exclaimed,

It is all very well to talk about equal pay for men and women but we have to take the world as it is and equal pay means lowering the man without advancing the women.¹

Other male teachers perceived that the introduction of a skilled female labour force actively hindered their claims for higher pay. Not only were women teachers accused of lowering the tone of the profession by undercutting the wages of men, but they were also partially blamed for the creation of the scarce supply of male teachers during the 1890s. The precise relationship between female employment on the one hand and the scarcity of male entrants into teaching on the other, was more fully explained by a

male assistant in 1900,

The time has undoubtedly come for the revision of the salaries of assistant teachers. Male assistants are difficult to find/^{and} almost as difficult to retain after being found. The reason is obvious. The supply is short of the demand ... We recognise no difference in the sexes for scholastic work beyond what may arise from difference in physical endurance. But women cheapen themselves ... and school boards naturally take advantage of the desire to obtain the cheaper available labour. When therefore men cannot be had for the salaries advertised, women are offered the positions nearly always at smaller salaries than men would have obtained. At present, there is an unintentional cheapening of one sex by the other.¹

This assertion that a process of substituting male labour by employing skilled female teachers was a prevalent conviction amongst male assistants throughout the 1890s and 1900s. They further argued that one major consequence of the massive influx of females into the teaching profession was that male assistants were in danger of vanishing from the profession. However, rather than launching a united and sustained campaign against employers who were capitalising on shifts in the supply function of female teachers, many male assistants directly placed the blame on the shoulders of female teachers.

Female certificated teachers in turn, were forced into a position of defending themselves against the accusations of male assistants inside the ranks of the teachers' associations. Their

1. 'Salaries of Assistant Teachers', Educational News, 10 November 1900, pp.771-772.

main forum for expressing their own particular grievances and viewpoints was in the Educational News and The Class Teacher. Both newspapers contained a separate page entitled 'Womens opinions' and 'Womens Interests'. The most remarkable feature arising from several articles and letters written by female members was that they were aimed directly at challenging men to think more seriously about the formidable obstacles of 'being a woman' in the teaching profession. A current theme was the unjust subordination of women in terms of pay and promotion. For example, one female writer referred to

... the injustice and indignity of being kept subordinate in pay and position to men who are not always her superior in teaching ability, in intellect, in tact or in organising power ... Hence the contention of the woman teacher is that equal training and equal work well done should mean equal remuneration.¹

'Equal pay for equal work' was one of the most aggressive demands of female writers dating from the early 1900s. Pleas were frequently made by individual women to rally together and fight for the removal of sex discrimination in teachers' pay. Thus, in 1904, a female assistant wrote:²

We would urge upon our professional sisters to be no longer graciously pleased to accept £30 or £40 a year less than their male contemporaries for the sole reason that they are women. Some

-
1. 'The Position of Women in the Teaching Profession', Educational News, 7 June 1907, p.512.
 2. This female teacher's comment was made in reply to a statement made by the male president of the SCTA who was quoted to have deplored '... the day when the school would be entirely dominated by women and held that better salaries should be given to men' Women's Opinions, Class Teachers' Pamphlet, February 1904, p.44.

will tell us that we may as well cry for the moon as ^{to}ask for equal pay, irrespective of sex, but not so very long ago there were those who said the same of women attempting to storm the peaceful arena of our Universities.¹

Apart from the fundamental issue of pay, another recurrent complaint in the 'Women's page' concerned the acute lack of female promotional opportunities within the teaching profession. In the eyes of many female members, a close association existed between low pay and inadequate promotion by virtue of their sex. The following extract pinpoints this widely held conviction within the female ranks of the EIS and the SCTA,

The most lucrative posts in the profession are almost exclusively reserved for men and (yet) women are in the majority of nearly three to one ... higher posts are fewer, (and) promotion comes to them but rarely. A woman may be a genius for teaching. She may have special organising power but her sex proves an effectual bar to the best paid and most responsible positions in her profession.²

Overall, these extracts are a small sample of numerous complaints registered by individual female teachers in the 'Women's Opinions' and 'Women's Interests' pages during the period under scrutiny. They provide a decisive indication of the latter's deep-seated discontentment and awareness of inequality of treatment on the grounds of gender. However, in spite of female

1. Ibid.

2. Educational News, op.cit., p.512.

members' awareness of their subordination within the teaching profession, they failed to devise a definite strategy in order to deal with their own specific grievances as an occupational group. Similarly, they were unable to overcome male prejudices and opposition to the employment of women teachers in the profession. Individual female members who embraced a similar radical outlook not only on equal pay, but on a host of other issues including suffrage,¹ and promotion, failed to consolidate into a single group to present a united opposition to their male counterparts on these issues.

More specifically, very little pressure was exerted upon female representatives on school boards to campaign for the improvement of the material and economic interests of female teachers in the profession as a whole. Perhaps this was one of the contributing factors towards explaining why radical female members on school boards (such as Flora Stevenson) failed to make positive headway for the removal of sex discrimination in teachers' pay.² The only fleeting cause for optimism occurred in

1. There is some evidence to suggest that women teachers who were in favour of equal pay also supported the 'Votes for Women' campaign and were active in the suffragette movements in the years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War. For example, in 1908 when it was proposed that educational legislation in Scotland was urgently required at an EIS meeting, a female teacher put forward the amendment '... that it should delay passing this resolution until ... women as well as the men of Scotland had a share in the making of the legislation - that was until the Women's Franchise Bill had become a fact'. In support of this amendment, another female declared '... it was only adding insult to injury by inviting women teachers to that meeting asking them to urge legislation which they did not share ... to promote an Educational Bill and say that was all they wanted of them', Educational News 20 March 1908, p.300. For further information on the suffragette movement see, J. Liddington and J. Norris, One Hand Tied Behind Us (Virago Press, 1978).

2. Chapter three, section three, op.cit., p.131.

1912, when the question of equal pay was raised for debate inside the ranks of the Glasgow branch of the SCTA. The failure of the sexes to unite on this issue and on the subject of pay differentials in general, was a decisive reminder of the fragmentation and conflict of interests between the sexes.

However, this fragmentation was a characteristic of the teaching profession as a whole; the heterogeneity of interests amongst various sectional groups prevented any sense of unity inside the ranks of the EIS and the SCTA. This situation was reinforced by the divorce between the views of the leadership and the rank and file membership. Thus, female assistant teachers could not rely on the support of the Central Ladies' Committee because of the latter's concern to avoid potential areas of open conflict with their male counterparts. Likewise, male assistants seeking higher remuneration failed to win the support of senior male officials because of the latter's fear of arousing public resentment against teachers' ^{professional} claims. In addition, there were the hierarchical divisions between higher grade schoolmasters, elementary headmasters, and male assistants, on the one hand, and between elementary headmistresses, infant mistresses, female assistants, and domestic science teachers, on the other.

The sectional interests of each of these groups appeared to be irreconcilable with the unity of teachers in the EIS and in the profession as a whole. This situation, however, was officially altered in 1917 when the Scottish Class Teachers Association

and the Secondary Education Association merged into the EIS.¹ Significantly, as a concession to the longstanding requests of rank and file members, this merger was labelled,

... as a Professional Union of Teachers ... and that the name of this union be the Educational Institute of Scotland.²

Two particular themes emerged in the course of this analysis. Firstly, it has been argued that the lack of female teachers' participation and marginal influence in the EIS provided little real incentive/to join the Institute in comparison with their male counterparts.³ Secondly, the tiny minority of female teachers who were appointed to

-
1. The A.D.T.s had previously become affiliated with the SCTA in 1913 and hence was integrated into the EIS in 1917.
 2. Reports of EIS Proceedings 1917, Headquarters Edinburgh, pp.97-99.
 3. In a stimulating article which reverses the usual focus of historians on the 'problem' of organising women employees to join trade unions, E. Gordon considers the extent to which any form of trade union was in tune with the experience and needs of female workers; see, 'Women Trade Unions and Industrial Militancy 1850-1890', in Glasgow Women's Studies Group (eds.), Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Womens Experience (Glasgow 1983), pp.52-73. For a general account of women's participation in trade unions see for example, S. Lewenhak, Women and Trade Unions (Ernest Benn 1977) and B. Drake, Women in Trade Unions (1920).

senior positions was instrumental in developing sex specific roles in the EIS. This was manifested in the priority given to infant and domestic instruction at the expense of other issues such as the improvement of the economic status of both sexes, but in particular, of women teachers, since economic discrimination weighted more heavily against them. In this way, gender divisions of labour which had permeated certain sections of elementary schools were actively reproduced in the activities of the Ladies Committees inside Scottish Teachers Associations after 1900.

Another important aspect of the development of gender roles between teachers is considered in the next chapter with reference to the movement for the introduction of domestic training for girls in schools during the late nineteenth century. The analysis focuses on the key role which an elite group of female educationalists played in this movement and their motives for spearheading and encouraging sex specific roles within the teaching profession as well as in the elementary school curriculum before 1900.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SCHOOLGIRL'S CURRICULUM AND THE SEXUAL DIVISION
OF LABOUR WITHIN THE SCOTTISH TEACHING PROFESSION.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

An underlying theme in this thesis has related to the systematic exclusion of women from positions of power within the Scottish educational structure. The absence of women in senior administrative posts such as Educational Commissioner, Permanent Secretary or officials in the SED, meant that it was men who primarily determined and executed policy making decisions affecting the prospects of women teachers - in spite of the fact that women formed the largest numerical bloc in the teaching profession. The latter's lack of bargaining power as reflected in the absence of official female representation on senior educational committees served to emphasise the vulnerability of women teachers as an occupational group.

It would be wrong to conclude however, that the tradition of exclusion from power amongst women was so deeply embedded within the educational structure that they accepted it without challenge. During the late nineteenth century, there was a minority of articulate and well educated ladies who spearheaded a campaign for the introduction of domestic training for girls in schools¹ at

-
1. Archive sources used in ^{the} preparation of this chapter include Miscellaneous Reports of the Edinburgh School of Cookery and newspaper cuttings 1876-1908; location: Queen Margaret College Library, Edinburgh (subsequent refs: QMCLE and Edinburgh Cookery School ECS); Minute book of the Edinburgh College of Domestic Science 1897/1918 (subsequent refs: ECDS); location: SRO/ED/26/250; Miscellaneous Records of the Glasgow School of Cookery and West End School of Cookery: 1874-1892 (subsequent refs: GSC and WESC); location: Baillie Library Glasgow (subsequent refs: BLG); Minute book of the Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science Parts I and II 1893/1913; location: SRO/ED/26/282.

a time when the notion of learning housework in schools was extremely unpopular and met with much opposition from male educationalists.¹ Moreover, the female pioneers' encouragement of sex specific roles in teaching as expressed through domestic instruction by female teachers was quite compatible with their broader commitment to the improvement of women's political, social and economic position in society. The aim of this chapter is to explain why both attitudes were reconcilable, by examining the motives and perceptions of the female campaigners who persistently strove for the instruction of practical lessons in cookery to be taught exclusively by female teachers. It argues that a small and elite group of women used the forum of the school boards to exercise power and to influence the content of the curriculum/as well as the subjects taught by female teachers.

Section one studies the growth of voluntary organisations that were initiated and administered largely by women for the study of domestic economy for females. It examines their methods and efforts to provide female teachers with a professional skill in

1. This was the major difference and contrast between the Central Ladies Committee in the EIS and the domestic education campaigners. The former's concern with the instruction of domestic subjects in schools was no longer considered a radical or innovatory phenomenon by the 1900s.

domestic subjects during the late nineteenth century.

Section two analyses the process of the institutionalisation of domestic subjects in Scottish elementary schools during the early decades of the twentieth century. It attempts to explain how and why the ideology of domestic training for girls in elementary schools became popularised throughout Britain in this period.

Section three analyses the perceptions and underlying motives of the female educationalists who wished to promote sex specific subjects in elementary schools. It traces the analogies which were to be found between their involvement with the domestic education campaign, and their broader participation in the 'Women's Movement' during the late nineteenth century. In so doing, it attempts to identify the social composition and values amongst this elite group of women. The final part of this chapter assesses some implications of the domestic education campaign for the development of gender roles within the teaching profession.

Two important points need to be stressed from the outset. Firstly, the beliefs of the female campaigners on school boards and in the respective cookery institutions did not at any stage necessarily reflect the views or opinions of the rank and file of the female teaching staff. However, precisely because of their election onto school boards, they were regarded as the official

mouthpiece for female teachers within the educational system and therewith lay their importance as a group. Secondly, although the bulk of the documentary evidence is Scottish based, the process of the institutionalisation of domestic subjects for schoolgirls was not specifically a Scottish phenomenon and therefore, should be seen as representative of broader socio-economic changes taking place in Edwardian society.¹

Section one: The Role of Female Voluntary Organisations and Domestic Economy for Girls 1873-1900.

The movement to introduce practical cookery lessons for girls in elementary schools and to qualify female teachers in this area of specialisation - gradually evolved in a series of well defined stages during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. However, the perceived relationship between the home and the school on the one hand, and the need to teach girls cookery in order to perform their future duties as wife and mother on the other, was already under widespread discussion throughout Britain in the early nineteenth century.

1. For recent research on analagous developments within the English education system see especially B. Wynn, 'Aspects of the Teaching of Domestic Subjects' (Unpublished MA dissertation, Institute of Education, London, 1974); H. Clements, 'The Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects and the Place of Domestic Science in the School Curriculum', (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Warwick, 1979); A.M. Turnbull, forthcoming Ph.D thesis on changing attitudes towards the Instruction of Domestic Subjects in England, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

in which she bitterly complained of middle-class women's ignorance in the rudiments of practical housekeeping and cookery. Martineau described the housewife's keen sense of mortification when she found herself hopelessly incapable of producing a square meal for her husband and this in turn induced the husband 'to spend more time at the clubs and have fewer meals at home'. She blamed the inadequate provision of practical training in household management in middle-class girls' schools and in her view,

... for want of good schools for girls, three or four girls in my district are sent to miserable private schools where they have no religious instruction, no discipline, no industrial training. They are humoured ~~on~~ every important conceit, are called Miss Smith, Miss Brown and go into service at fourteen or fifteen, skilled in crochet and worsted work, but unable to darn a hole or cut out a frock.¹

The criticisms of existing girls schools was also echoed in the domestic manuals of the period.² According to Eliza Warren (who wrote a widely acclaimed book entitled Comfort on Small Incomes)³ the proper education of a middle-class girl ^{be to} should teach her first how to make and mend clothes, wash, bake and do 'good-home cooking'. She concluded that it was 'neglect of this pragmatic education that was the cause of middle-class troubles'.⁴ The fate

-
1. H. Martineau, 'Female Industry' in Edinburgh Review Vol. CCXXII (1859), p.317.
 2. See for example A. Beeton, The Book of Household Management (1861) (1861).
 3. E. Warren, Comfort on Small Incomes (1866).
 4. See P. Branca, Silent Sisterhood Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home (1975), pp.34-35.

of the ignorant housewife was exemplified in Charles Dickens' novel, David Copperfield. In this novel, Copperfield fell in love with Dora who is portrayed as an angelic, charming, doll-like and innocent creature. However, in the course of their marriage, Copperfield's captivation with Dora changed into an overwhelming feeling of frustration and despair because she was incapable of mastering the art of cookery, or in keeping a systematic account of household expenditure.¹

While it was generally believed, therefore, that women were naturally housewives with an innate sympathy for rearing children, there was a growing conviction among contemporaries (which reached full expression in the 1850s and 1860s) that girls from all social classes needed formally to be educated in a schooling institution in order to perform their 'natural' duties at home more efficiently. These dual beliefs were popularised through national organisations such as the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS). For example at their annual conference in 1862, Mary Carpenter, an advocate of educating girls in cookery, stated that:

Women in order to do their true life work in any station in any part of the globe must be educated. Every girl should be so learned as to be able to fill the duties of a home. The girls is

1. C. Dickens, David Copperfield (1850)

especially adapted by nature for a home. The boy loves to roam, he delights in enterprise, in action ... The girl is quite different ... she has the babies to fondle, and nurse like a little mother herself ... A real good home is infinitely better than any school for the education of girls but with the home must be combined the school.¹

The practical outcome of these beliefs was manifested in the foundation of voluntary schools of cookery for girls in Edinburgh and Glasgow during the 1870s while the Aberdeen School of Domestic Economy was opened later in 1891.² All of these schools were administered and inspired by a small group of women most of whom had former teaching experience. The first cookery institution was inaugurated in Edinburgh in 1873, and Miss Guthrie Wright a spinster was appointed as Principal. Two years later, Miss Grace Paterson was appointed Principal of the Glasgow School of Cookery.³ This was closely followed by the opening of the West End School of Cookery in Glasgow in 1878 with Mrs. Margaret Black⁴ being appointed as its Headmistress.⁵

1. M. Carpenter, 'On the Education of Pauper Children', paper read at the Proceedings of the NAPSS (London 1862), pp.287-92.
2. The following analysis centres chiefly on the Edinburgh and Glasgow cookery schools principally because of the later time scale of the formal opening of the Aberdeen School of Cookery. For a full account of the history of the Aberdeen institution see R. Bayliss, Aberdeen School of Domestic Science. An Outline History (Aberdeen 1979).
3. For a biographical sketch on the career of Grace Paterson see section three of this chapter, pp.243-45.
4. For a biographical sketch on the career of Margaret Black see section three of this chapter, pp.245-47.
5. Meanwhile, at the Aberdeen School of Domestic Economy Helen Johnston was made Lady Superintendent; she had previously worked there as a sewing teacher when it was a Girl's Orphan Hospital.

The respective cookery institutions in Glasgow and Edinburgh had much in common with each other. Firstly, all of them were financed by wealthy businessmen,¹ by members of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches and through public donations.² Secondly, the aims and motives of the female pioneers and churchmen were very similar in both cities.

From the annual reports of the respective executive committees in Glasgow and Edinburgh it is clear that the founder members believed and hoped that the banner of 'domestic rule' would unite women from all social classes.³ At the same time, this belief was accompanied by their awareness that distinct class differences did exist and must therefore be catered for. Thus, it was argued that upper middle class 'Ladies' would benefit from cookery lessons since it could lead to greater efficiency in

-
1. See E. Millar, Century of Change 1875-1975: One Hundred Years of Training Home Economic Students in Glasgow (Glasgow 1975), pp.1-6.
 2. For an illuminating analysis on the strong links which existed between the churches and their involvement in education and voluntary organisations in the nineteenth century, see a case study on Reading by S. Yeo, Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976).
 3. Summary of evidence of the Reports of the ECS, GSC, and the WESC 1878/1889.

organising their kitchen staff and domestic servants.¹

The motivation for teaching cookery to middle-class women was quite different. With the rising cost of living during the 1870s and the expansion of job opportunities for women in the white collar sector of the economy there was increasing difficulty in obtaining domestic servants.² Therefore, the pioneers argued that the time had now come for these housewives to be taught how to budget their housekeeping money and to learn how to cook economical but tasty and attractive dishes for their family.

However, it was to problems associated with working class wives and mothers that the female pioneers and male contemporaries addressed themselves. It was hoped that knowledge in the culinary arts would reduce infant mortality, drunkenness, degeneration, and bad sanitary conditions in workers' homes. This sentiment was summed up by Provost Cubard in a speech celebrating the inauguration of cookery classes in Elgin in December 1876.

In this country the greatest evil under which the working classes labour is domestic economy ... Waste and discomfort are too often the chief characteristic - the latter consequences of which are intemperance, strife, sickness, debt and misery. They are heedless how they marry and, when married, never think of the duties of their position.

-
1. For analogous arguments propounded by the female pioneers in the English schools of cookery see A. Yoxall, A History of the Teaching of Domestic Economy (first published in Bath 1914, reprinted in London 1965), pp.1-14.
 2. Nevertheless, domestic servants remained a sizeable occupational group. For example, in 1891, female servants represented 34 per cent of all women employed in England and still 23 per cent in 1930. See L. Davidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant, Wife and Mother in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', in Journal of Social History No.7 1973-74, pp.406-420; P. Born, The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant (New York, 1975); T. McBride, The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service (1976).
 3. Scotsman 15 December 1876, newspaper cutting in scrapbook, QMCLE.

To inculcate middle class domestic values on working class wives and mothers a programme was mapped out. A typical means of organising domestic instruction consisted of the following provisions:¹

- (a) systematic instruction in cookery for the wives and daughters of artisans;
- (b) special training in 'plain cookery' and kitchen work for girls about to enter domestic service;
- (c) training a staff of teachers in proportion to the demand in the school of cookery and elsewhere.²

To implement these plans, the pioneers organised separate classes for each social group. They devised a course for ladies entitled 'High Class Cookery' which took place in the mornings. They charged fifteen shillings for a series of twelve lessons or 1s. 6d. for a single lesson. In the afternoon, they offered an alternative course of lessons for wives of artisans entitled 'Plain Cookery'. A lower fee of ten shillings was charged for a series of twelve lessons or one shilling for one lesson.³ Alongside this measure, each voluntary organisation gave numerous demonstration lessons to children in board schools as well as holding evening classes for wives of artisans who were unable to attend the day classes.

1. Summary of Evidence of the Reports of the ECS, GSC and WESC 1878/1882.
2. The timetable of cookery lessons and the aims of the female pioneers were extremely compatible with their English counterparts. See, H. Sillitoe, A History of the Teaching of Domestic Subjects (1933), pp.80-91.
3. Reports of the ECS in QMCLE 1876 Vol.1, pp.1-5.

How successful were these voluntary cookery institutions in teaching working class women in the 1870s? It is difficult to ascertain with any accuracy the success of the evening lessons in cheap cookery since none of the schools printed a reliable body of annual statistics. However, from scattered evidence some impression can be ~~resahed~~. One report published in 1876, reported that attendance at evening classes in Edinburgh varied from 40 to 180 women, and in 1877, it was stated that in three Scottish towns, evening attendance had reached nearly 1,000.¹ In that year the Edinburgh School of Cookery recorded that classes in cookery had been organised and conducted in forty-one towns and villages throughout Scotland.² Nevertheless, in spite of the rising popularity of domestic economy in the late 1870s, there was agreement among critics that attempts to reach working class wives and mothers had been a definite failure. This observation was made by Mr. Buckmaster, a representative from the Science and Art Department in Kensington. He travelled widely in Britain, giving lectures on various aspects of cookery and domestic hygiene by 1877 and he/reached the conclusion that:

-
1. Reports of the ECS in QMCLE 1877, Vol. II, pp.9-11.
 2. Ibid.

... all attempts to reach the wives of working men have ended in comparative failure, full of whims and fancies and prejudices, they look at all instruction in cookery as a kind of patronage and interference.¹

One factor in accounting for the lack of public response was that cookery lessons were simply too expensive for working class wives. In the absence of a price index on individual items of food in Scotland, it is difficult to assess the staple diet which the respectable working class family could afford.² What can be gleaned from looking at recipe books and cookery schedules is that the cost of lessons in 'plain cookery' and the types of dishes that were being promoted, were still extremely expensive for families on low and fluctuating incomes.³ Consequently these cookery lessons had little practical meaning or relevance to their daily existence; one group of working class wives were reported to have said:

... We don't want you to teach us to cook, we want you to give us something to cook.⁴

The irony of this situation was accompanied by a growing awareness that teaching cookery to older women might be a lost cause and that the only effective

1. J.C. Buckmaster, 'Practical Cookery in Girls' Schools' in North British Daily Mail, 16 October 1877, p.137.
2. However, there is a guide into the diets of working class families in Lambeth, London, between 1909 and 1913. See M.P. Reeves, Round About a Pound a Week (Virago Press 1979), pp.94-175.
3. Often there was little difference between the recipes in the 'High Class Cookery' courses and 'Plain Cookery' courses. For example, a recommended recipe in 'High Class Cookery' consisted of Rissoles, Baked potatoes and clarified fat. In the 'Plain Cookery' lesson for the same day was baked haddock, baked potatoes and clarified fat. Reports of the ESC in QMCLE, 1878, Vol. III, pp.15-20.
4. J.C. Buckmaster, op.cit., p.137.

way of reaching the working classes was by teaching children to cook during school hours. Consequently, the female pioneers of the respective voluntary cookery schools began an intensive campaign to exert pressure on school boards to introduce domestic economy for girls into elementary schools. The main strategy adopted by this elite group of women was to seek election onto school boards in order to influence policy making decisions relating to the domestic education of girls.¹ In the course of the 1880s therefore, representatives from the two Glasgow schools of cookery (namely Miss Grace Paterson and Mrs. Margaret Black) were elected onto the Glasgow School Board.² Likewise, on the Edinburgh School Board, there was also a staunch nucleus of female supporters of the 'Home-Rule' campaign³ in the form of Flora Stevenson (whose sister was Treasurer of the Edinburgh School of Cookery) Miss Phoebe Blyth and Mrs. Mary Burton.

The campaign headed by the school board female representatives chiefly centred on two issues; firstly, the introduction of a fully training staff of female teachers to educate girls in cookery and household management and, secondly, the provision of adequate facilities in schools in the form of a kitchen and cookery utensils. This in turn necessitated a considerable amount of school board expenditure. On both issues, they met with much

1. For further details on the role of females on the School Boards see section three of this chapter, (op.cit. pp.240-7).
2. Ibid.
3. In this respect, the banner of 'Home Rule for Women' was frequently employed as their rhetorical and rallying appeal to the electorates.

opposition from male representatives on school boards and from male officials in the SED. The latter expressed an unwillingness to train teachers for this specialised task at the expense of other subjects within the elementary school curriculum. An examination of the Scotch Education Department regulations in the 1870s and 1880s shows that little practical provision was made for the training of teachers in cookery. The only concession made was the continuing existence of a theoretical course of cookery and household management at the Presbyterian Training Colleges. Even this exception tended towards abstract teaching and little practical knowledge in the instruction of domestic economy was possessed by ~~either~~ inspectors or teachers.

Therefore, during the 1870s and 1880s, it was entirely at the discretion of various voluntary organisations to implement their own teacher training programme for the instruction of cookery for schoolgirls.¹ In the absence of a uniform teacher training scheme, the Northern Union of Cookery Schools had been formed (comprising of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool and Manchester) and ^{its} overriding aim was to elevate educational standards by issuing examination certificates and diplomas in cookery to teachers.² For instance, the Edinburgh School of Domestic Economy had commenced its wide-ranging programme

1. See A. Yoxall, op.cit., pp.14-15.

2. Ibid.

for the training of teachers by 1881, issuing separate diplomas to potential teachers which were recognised by the Northern Union of Cookery Schools. Between 1881 and 1912, diplomas were granted to girls in the following domestic subjects featured below in table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Number of Diplomas issued by the Edinburgh School of Cookery to Students of Domestic Subjects: 1881-1912.

Domestic Subjects	Number of Students
Cookery	474
High Class Cookery	30
Laundry	300
Housewifery	154
Needlework	331
Dressmaking	264
Millinery	30

Source: Reports of the Edinburgh School of Cookery 1881/1912, Vols. XXX, QMCLE.

Overall, however, in the absence of a centralised authority prepared to finance and implement a uniform teacher training programme in domestic subjects, the early attempts to standardise teachers' qualifications in the instruction of practical cookery met with uneven success in schools. Part of the problem lay in the reluctance of several school boards to employ teachers to teach practical cookery in schools since many of them felt that instruction in needlework was quite sufficient. For example, in 1884,

Miss Guthrie Wright and Mrs. Margaret Black sent a letter to Eastwood School Board in the West of Scotland requesting the extension^{of} their educational programme to include cookery lessons for girls. The members of the board (solely composed of men) overwhelmingly rejected their recommendation on the basis that 'it was undesirable' because needlework was sufficient in an already full time-table.¹

Other school boards, while expressing their general approval of the movement to teach cookery, did not take advantage of the government grant as it entailed too much expense on the building of kitchens and the provision of cookery utensils in board schools. Meanwhile, there were several school boards who were either actively opposed to the instruction of domestic education for schoolgirls or else indifferent to this scheme.² This was particularly true of many rural areas of Scotland such as the Southern Uplands and the Western Isles when several letters and deputations from female school board representatives in Glasgow and Edinburgh were casually dismissed from the agenda.³ This was partially because many parents believed

-
1. Reports of the Eastwood School Board 1884, GCA. DED/3/1/1, p.134.
 2. Summary of evidence of the Reports of School Boards in Stirlingshire, Dundee, Dumfries, Selkirk, Fraserburgh 1881-1890.
 3. Indeed, in areas such as the Southern Uplands and the Western Isles, there was a definite reluctance to appoint women onto school boards and this was invariably accompanied by a lack of interest in domestic economy. Therefore, the campaigners realised that it was of strategic importance that women should become elected onto school boards. For further confirmation of this point see J.D. Maxwell, 'School Board and Pupil Welfare: Govan School Board' (Unpublished M.Litt dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1975), pp.12-25.

that their daughters were thoroughly well trained in 'good home cooking' and hence, the idea of cooking during school hours under the authority of a teacher, was widely viewed as an insult as well as a waste of valuable school time. For this reason alone, many female electors decided not to vote for female candidates in a school board election precisely because they resisted the idea of domestic economy for girls being introduced into schools.

Largely because of this widespread opposition by school boards in country districts to domestic economy for girls during school hours, and the lack of financial aid given to qualify teachers in specialised domestic subjects, the 'home rule' campaign failed to make a national impact in the 1880s and 1890s in Scotland. Nevertheless, it did make some positive headway during these decades and the pressure-group of women on school boards was instrumental in activating this process. An indication of the 'spread' of cookery classes in schools, was stated in a general report by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education; it reported that in 1886, cookery formed part of the elementary school curriculum in ninety-one schools while in 1887, this figure had increased to one hundred and twenty Scottish schools.¹ In a comparative study of the English school curriculum, recent research by Carol Dyhouse also

1. PP 1887/8 Cmnd. 5487 Vol. XLI, Reports of CCES, p.XXI.

showed that the teaching of domestic subjects assumed growing importance in England during the 1880s. Between 1874 and 1882 the number of girls studying domestic economy rose from 844 to 59,812.¹

Meanwhile in the 1890s, the Scottish and English educational authorities were beginning to define a series of household tasks as subjects which ought to be taught and transmitted to girls during school hours.² Accordingly, under the Scotch code of 1891 (and the English code of 1889) grants were first made available for teaching laundry work in elementary schools; by 1900, a total of 2,561 girls received grants for laundry work in eighty-three departments in Scotland. Similarly in England, between 1891-92 and 1895-6 the number of girls attending recognised classes in laundry work rose from 632 to 11,720, the number of schools offering these classes from 27 to 400 over the same period.³ Moreover great strides were made when cookery became defined as a technical subject under the Local Taxation, Customs and Excise Act of 1890 - more commonly known as the 'Whiskey Money Act'. It meant that female school leavers and older women could take cookery as a technical subject at evening classes or at continuation classes.

1. C. Dyhouse, 'Good Wives and Little Mothers: Social Anxieties and the Schoolgirl's Curriculum: 1890-1920', Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 3, No. 1 1977, pp.21-35.
2. H. Sillitoe, op.cit., pp.37-38.
3. C. Dyhouse, op.cit., pp.21-37.

Yet in other respects, the educational authorities were still slow to undertake measures of a more practical nature in order to improve the range and status of domestic subjects in schools and more particularly concerning the professional training of female teachers in domestic subjects. For example in 1893, the English and Scottish Education Departments issued the first regulations for the training of teachers in specialist subjects such as domestic economy. Notably however, they continued not to offer any financial assistance towards improving teachers' qualifications, nor did they provide adequate educational facilities for this purpose.¹ Thus, it remained the task of female voluntary cookery organisations to sustain their individual teacher training programmes. This was reflected in the spread of cookery schools which included a course for the training of teachers such as that in Aberdeen in 1894.

Therefore, although the number of schoolgirls studying domestic subjects was undoubtedly growing in the 1880s and 1890s, its overall impact on the school curriculum was still a limited one. During this period female representation on voluntary organisations and school boards largely ensured the

1. H. Sillitoe, op.cit., pp.37-38.

survival of the campaign to promote domestic education for girls in elementary schools as well as equipping a staff of 'skilled' female teachers exclusively for this purpose. However, this situation was not to last. The bid to professionalise domestic subjects through the more systematic training of teachers was soon to become the ultimate responsibility of the SED. Likewise in 1908, the voluntary cookery organisations became transformed into central institutions and were placed under the control of the SED. An official indicator of the new phase in the domestic education campaign was the replacement of the words 'domestic economy' by the term 'domestic science'.¹ Under this general title, the curricula covered an extensive range of subjects including the study of nutrition, chemistry of food, laundry work, health, hygiene, sick aid, household management, and cookery. By the outbreak of the First World War, domestic science had become an integrated part of the elementary school curriculum and the number of girls studying domestic subjects underwent an unprecedented expansion.

What then were the underlying reasons for the shifts in attitudes in favour of more direct links between the home and the school? And how did the integration of domestic subjects into elementary school curricula take place?

1. A. Yoxall, op.cit., p.24.

Section two: The Institutionalisation of Domestic Education
Within the Elementary Schoolgirl's Curriculum:
1900-1914.

Many influential factors converged at the beginning of the twentieth century which injected the campaign for domestic education in elementary schools with a new dynamism and urgency.¹ The reasons for the heightened interest in domestic education had little direct connection with voluntary cookery organisations and had more to do with national events precipitated by the Boer War.² At the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899, it was discovered that a substantial number of the recruits were physically unfit for service in the army and it generated intense concern within official government circles.³

Concern was heightened by well-founded fears that ill-health and lack of physical fitness was not confined to male army recruits. A spate of investigations drew particular attention to the high levels of infant mortality and the low birth rates.⁴ In England, it was revealed that while the general death rate had fallen by about 15 per cent between 1860 and 1900, the level of infant mortality had fallen only marginally in Britain.⁵ The results

-
1. For a general analysis of the factors which precipitated a more sustained interest in domestic education for schoolgirls see an illuminating article by A. Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', History Workshop No.5, 1978, pp.9-65. My thanks are also due to Anna Davin for her paper 'A Centre of Humanising Influence: the schooling of working class girls under the London School Board: 1870-1902' (Unpublished paper presented to a conference on social policy in the University of Glasgow, May 1978).
 2. See B. Semmel, Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social Imperialist Thoughts 1895-1914 (1960).
 3. C. Dyhouse, 'Good Wives and Little Mothers: Social Anxieties and the Schoolgirl's Curriculum, 1890-1920', Oxford Review of Education Vol.3, No.1, 1977, pp.21-35.
 4. For further discussion of this point see C. Dyhouse, 'Working Class Mothers and Infant Mortality Rates in England 1895-1914', Journal of Social History, No. 2, Winter 1978, pp.248-259; C. Dyhouse, 'Social Darwinistic Ideas and the Development of Women's Education in England 1880-1920', History of Education 51 1976, pp.41-58.
 5. C. Dyhouse (1978) op.cit., pp.248-259.

showed that in 1860, the figure stood at 148 per 1,000 deaths and in 1900 it was 146 in England,¹ whilst in Scotland the level of infant mortality stood at 118 and 124 respectively.²

Anxieties over the high rates of infant mortality were exacerbated by the propagandist ideas of the Eugenics Movement which enjoyed greatest popularity and credibility during the first two decades of the twentieth century.³ They could loosely be defined as a small group of professional middle class writers who were committed to the belief that there must be a strict limitation on population growth in order to prevent the further deterioration of the race. The aim of eugenic policy proposals, was, in the words of one propagandist, to:

... promote the fertility of the better types which the nation contains, whilst diminishing the birth rate amongst those who are inferior.⁴

In effect, the aim of the eugenisists was to prevent the lowest social groups classified as 'inferior' from having children and to encourage the higher social classes to boost their fertility to ensure 'the improvement of the race'.⁵ In their eyes, this would happen through the proliferation of those they regarded as 'fit' to breed. The role of women played a vital part in this process since

1. Ibid.

2. For further discussion on rates of infant mortality in Scotland, see R. Mitchison, British Population Change Since 1860 (Studies in Economic and Social History, Macmillan Series 1977), p.50.

3. For further information on the Eugenics Movement, see especially G.R. Searle, The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought 1899-1914 (Oxford 1971); G.R. Searle, Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914 (Leiden 1976); G.R. Searle, 'Eugenics and Politics in Britain in the 1930s' in Annals of Science No.36, 1979, pp.159-69.

4. Quoted in D. Mackenzie, Statistics in Britain 1865-1930: The Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge (Edinburgh 1981) p.18.

5. Ibid.

they were the childbearers and the 'natural' protectors of their children. Thus, it was argued women must be educated in domestic skills in order to promote the health of the child, which in turn would produce a 'fit' and healthy nation. One proponent of this latter view was Sir George Bernard Shaw who addressed the following words,

Think of the whole nation as a big family which is what they really are. What do we see; Half-fed, badly clothed, abominably housed children all over the place ... the only way in which a nation can make itself wealthy and prosperous is by good housekeeping.¹

Another proponent of the eugenic belief in home life and national prosperity on the one hand, and the formal education of schoolgirls and women teachers in domestic skills on the other, was Alice Ravenhill - an inspectress of hygiene and domestic science. In her view, the professional role of female academics within educational institutions should encompass professional opportunities for special preparation:

... of women in the care of childhood and home ... [In addition] there should be ... opportunities for able and skilful women to solve domestic enigmas by patient research; to follow up economic developments to their sources; to trace connections between social and industrial even imperial problems and home, or parental methods.²

1. G.B. Shaw, An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism (1928), p.50.
2. R. Ravenhill, 'Eugenic Ideals for Motherhood', Eugenics Review I, 1907, pp.264-279; see also R. Ravenhill, 'Domestic Science and the Domestic Arts', Journal of Education Vol. XXIX 1907, pp.775-78; R. Ravenhill, Report on the Teaching of Hygiene in the USA, Journal of Royal Sanitary Institute, Vol. XXIII, 1902, pp.27-29.

The ideas of eugenists enjoyed greatest popularity during the early twentieth century precisely because many of their views on education, on motherhood, child health and the improvement of the racial stock overlapped with discussions taking place in governmental circles. Social anxieties stemming from the fear of further physical and urban degeneration of the population, prompted the Government to set up the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1903 to investigate the reasons for the apparently unhealthy state of the British nation and to propose remedies.¹ In Scotland a separate Royal Commission on Physical Training had been set up in 1902 to investigate 'Physical Training facilities in Scotland and continuation Classes', with the view 'to contribute towards the sources of national strength'.² The influence of the English report in developing perceived links between motherhood and nationhood has been well documented by social historians.³

On the other hand, many important aspects of the Scottish inquiry as it related to the role of teachers, and particularly women teachers, in connection with state provision of medical welfare for children during school hours has received comparatively little attention from historians.⁴

-
1. P.P. 1904 Cmd. 2175 Vol. XXII Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (Subsequent refs: Inter-Departmental Committee Report).
 2. P.P. 1903 Cmd. 1507 Vol. XXX Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) (Subsequent refs: Scottish Royal Commission SCR).
 3. See for example A. Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', op.cit., pp.9-65.
 4. There are however, three notable exceptions including I. Thompson, 'The Origins of Physical Education in State Schools', Scottish Educational Review 10, 1978, pp.15-23; J. Maxwell, op.cit.; see especially, 'The Feeding and Clothing of Necessitous Children', chapter 6, pp.158-197; T. Ferguson, Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914 (Edinburgh 1958).

Essentially, the findings of both reports were comparable although the emphasis of the report of the Scottish Commission contained a stronger bias towards the question of the amount of physical exercises and military drill to be undertaken in elementary schools.¹ From the beginning, the commissioners centred on the school as the central forum for discussion since it was believed that schoolchildren would form the next generation of citizens and therefore, it was in the interests of the state to ensure that they were healthy, and fit to perform their future roles in British society. In the course of the inquiries, medical evidence supported the beneficial effects of physical exercise as a means of preventing ill-health among schoolchildren. However, this consensus of opinion was revised in the light of evidence produced by Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie - medical health inspector to the local government board of Scotland. From his own investigations, Mackenzie came to the conclusion that the:

... primary value of physical training in schools is its value on discipline, that its value as a promotion of physical development is secondary and that the great problem to solve is how to secure for the school board child the nurture necessary to make physical training in school profitable.²

As an alternative explanation for ill-health amongst schoolchildren, Mackenzie stressed the harmful effects of environmental factors such as overcrowding, poorly ventilated housing, and lack of proper nutrition.³

1. I. Thompson, op.cit., pp.15-23.
2. P.P. 1903, Cmnd. 1503 Vol. XXX Report of SRC, Witness: W.L. Mackenzie, 9 June 1902, Q.6983, p.261.
3. Ibid.

In referring to the low standards of health and hygiene in workers' homes Mackenzie concluded:

It is evident that among the causes which tells against the physical welfare of the population, the lack of proper nourishment is one of the most serious.¹

Among his recommendations was that schoolgirls should be trained in domestic skills in order to gain an academic and practical awareness of the nutritional value of food. This was in keeping with his argument that the real basis of preventive social medicine lay in proper nourishment and the improvement of the environmental landscape.² Mackenzie's evidence shifted the discussion in favour of questioning further the effects of the environment on the health of schoolchildren. The commissioners duly discovered that no statistics existed on the weight and height of children from different social classes as a means of determining the possible correlation between poverty and health against class background. Consequently, Mackenzie was asked to inspect the health of a selected number of children from poorer working class districts along with middle-class children from prosperous homes. Accordingly, he selected a sample of 1,300 school children in different districts from Edinburgh and Aberdeen.³ The findings of this sample re-affirmed his previous

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. P.P. 1903 Cmnd. 1507 Vol. XXX, Report of SEC, Appendix, p.73.

conclusions that a strong correlation existed between housing, low standards of domestic care and ill-health. In both cities, Mackenzie found that children from schools in poorer working class districts were smaller, lighter and more badly nourished than their counterparts from middle-class schools.¹

Further evidence revealed that out of 299 male children from schools in Edinburgh, 259 showed signs of some medical deficiency and that virtually all of the 298 female children examined were also said to be 'medically defective'.² As a result of these investigations, Mackenzie strongly recommended the introduction of systematic medical inspection of schoolchildren during school hours. In so doing, Mackenzie singled out the potential importance of teachers in assisting the medical officer in his inspection of schoolchildren, saying that the³

Instruction of the teachers in the laws of health I regard as only preliminary to a systematic medical inspection of school children. What a teacher can do is indispensable to the success of a system of medical inspection but it is not a substitute for medical inspection. By a course of instruction in the laws of health it is intended to prepare the teachers to discriminate between the lesser defects and those that should be submitted for medical inspection.⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Recommendations of Dr. W.L. Mackenzie to the SED on the teaching of School hygiene to Students, 1904 SRO D/342/78/118, p.220.

In accepting Mackenzie's recommendations the commissioners turned their attention to the amount of medical knowledge which teachers should possess in detecting symptoms of disease among schoolchildren. It was generally agreed that in the prevailing educational climate many teachers did not possess any medical knowledge. Particular attention was drawn to the ignorance of women teachers on matters relating to health and hygiene and the consensus of opinion reached was that:

...Most teachers are exceedingly ignorant of hygiene but there are exceptions to this rule. This applies more generally to the better class of infant teachers who generally reach a higher pitch in the care of their pupils ... but ... women teachers generally are the most indifferent to health conditions and many firmly oppose such measures as opening of schoolroom windows for fear of catching colds, personal comfort and other trivial conditions.¹

On the other hand, in spite of these adverse criticisms of many female teachers, it was believed that they could play an important but selective role in assisting the medical officer in connection with the physical welfare of girls. The sex specific role to be assigned to women teachers was outlined by Mackenzie:

The assistance of women might often be useful in this work so far as it regards the girls and infants and² the effect of physical training in their case.

-
1. P.P. 1903, Cmd. 1507 Vol. XXX, Report of SRC Witness: Mr. J. Kerr, 29 May 1902, Q.6059, p.220.
 2. P.P. 1903, Cmd. 1507 Vol. XXX, Report of SRC Witness: W.L. Mackenzie, 9 June 1902, Q.6983, p.261.

In keeping with this view, the consensus was that women teachers ought to be encouraged to qualify themselves in matters relating to nutrition, child care and hygiene. To achieve this measure, closer liaison between school boards and the voluntary cookery organisations in Scotland was seen as a necessary step in that direction.

The attention given to voluntary cookery organisations in the report merely reflected the continued inadequacies in the system of training female teachers in domestic subjects since this task was still largely at the discretion of voluntary agencies. The ability to obtain a teaching qualification was further hampered by the lack of financial funds from the SED for this purpose. Consequently, one of the recommendations contained in the report was ^{that} the educational authorities should become more directly involved in the systematic training of women teachers in domestic subjects rather than it being left entirely up to voluntary agencies.

One significant influence of the Scottish report on physical training was that it made the school a more central agency for reform in terms of improving the quality of the physical lives of children. This extended view of the school was manifested in the report's recommendation that elementary state education should be responsible for the physical as well as the mental welfare of schoolchildren. Accordingly, teachers and particularly

women teachers, were seen to be important mediators in supervising the physical welfare of children during school hours. A more explicit indication of the influence of the Royal Commission Report was that some of its recommendations on health were implemented under the 1908 Education (Scotland) Act.¹ This piece of legislation empowered school boards with the responsibility of providing medical inspection of children during school hours, as well as 'the feeding of necessitous children'. They were given the authority to take action against parents where a child was in a filthy or 'verminous' state.² The Act also ensured closer involvement of educational authorities in domestic education for schoolgirls. Under this Act the respective voluntary cookery organisations in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen lost their ~~autonomy~~ and became known as central institutions which meant that they were placed under the ultimate control of the SED. 1908 saw the amalgamation of the

1. For example, the Dunfermline College of Physical Education was inaugurated in 1908.
2. For a fuller account of the school boards' powers in connection with the provision of medical health and supervision of children during school hours, see W.M. Haddow, My Seventy Years (Glasgow, 1943), pp.66-77. Haddow himself was an extremely active campaigner in support of state medical inspection of schoolchildren, in his capacity as member of the Glasgow School Board in 1908. For further information on his activities as a social reformer, see H. Corr, 'Martin Haddow' (forthcoming publication in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol.8, 1984).

West End and Glasgow schools of cookery and thereafter, it became known as the Glasgow College of Domestic Science.¹ The curricula (under the title of Domestic Science) of these colleges included an extensive range of subjects such as the study of nutrition, value of food, laundry work, cookery, health, hygiene, sick aid and household management, and each of these subjects necessitated the approval of the SED.

By becoming central institutions, each cookery organisation established more integral links not only with the SED but also with school boards and the provincial committees for the training of teachers. The centralisation of these cookery schools under the control of the SED ended an era in which voluntary organisations had provided the main platform for the support and provision of domestic education for girls. These decisive changes concerning the full integration of domestic science training in schools were symbolic of the shift which had occurred in the perceived relationship between the family and state education. As a result of the legislation in 1908, the education of girls in domestic affairs was now seen as the official responsibility of the state during school hours rather than being primarily a voluntary concern. The new found momentum for the integration of domestic subjects in elementary schools and the sex specific nature of this development was re-affirmed in one such circular by Robert Morant in 1910.

1. For further information on the negotiations for the amalgamation of the Glasgow and West End Schools of Cookery, see the records of the Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science 1903/1908, SRO/ED/7/16 SED papers.

Attention should be drawn to the great importance of increasing and improving the present inadequate provision in our schools for instructing girls in the care and management of infants. The ultimate aim of a state system of education given to girls in the public elementary schools should be to equip them in the best possible way for the duties which will fall on them.¹

The institutionalisation of domestic subjects in the school curriculum was accompanied by more sustained attempts to provide a professional training for female teachers in domestic subjects. Robert Morant, for the first time, made several practical arrangements with this purpose in mind; an impressive list of memoranda ~~was~~ sent out to teachers in elementary schools for instruction on various aspects of hygiene, sick aid and child welfare by officials in the education departments in Scotland and England.² Additional grants were awarded for the purpose of training teachers in specialised subjects such as cookery and hygiene under the general title of household management. Provision was also made for the appointment of female inspectors ~~to~~ to supervise the development and instruction of domestic subjects in schools.³ Female candidates had to acquire a professional qualification in domestic subjects and it was officially stipulated that they had to be unmarried or widowed.⁴

-
1. Memorandum from the Board of Education Circular 757 'Teaching of Infant Care and Management in Public Elementary Schools', 1910, SRO/ED/7/4/16 SED paper⁸.
 2. Ibid.
 3. For information on the method of appointing female inspectors see an illuminating correspondence between R. Morant and J. Struthers, 9 June 1910, SRO/ED/4/16, SED papers.
 4. Ibid.

As a direct consequence of the more centralised efforts to integrate domestic subjects within the school curriculum, the number of girls studying domestic science underwent an unprecedented expansion. Between 1901 and 1914, the number of Scottish schools which included cookery lessons in the curricula rose from 615 to 1,556 and the number of scholars from 47,125 to 77,457. Over the same interval, the number of schools with classes in laundry work rose from 90 to 635 and the number of pupils from 5,135 to 35,662 (see Appendix I). In short, due to the voluntary efforts of female pioneers and latterly of the Scotch Education Department, the widespread provision of domestic subjects for girls in Scottish elementary schools¹ had been widely achieved by 1914.

Meanwhile, the number of female teachers who acquired a professional qualification in domestic subjects was also growing, albeit at a slow rate. For example, under the auspices of the Edinburgh central institution and the Provincial Committee, 36 teachers, in 1910, were awarded teaching certificates (otherwise referred to as a 'teacher of special subjects') and

-
1. However, although the study of domestic subjects mushroomed in day schools, the educational authorities met with much less success in their bid to popularise them at continuation classes during the evenings. It was hoped that instruction in domestic subjects would prepare female school leavers for future jobs in domestic service but the response in many urban and rural areas was one of apathy. In accounting for the closure of many continuation classes in Scotland, Munro Fraser, a HMI, wrote: 'The appreciable decline in the demand for practical instruction in domestic subjects is perhaps the result of special attention given to these subjects in most of the day schools ... It appears at present impossible to persuade any large number of young women to devote more than two evenings per week to this important work. Domestic servants who have the greatest financial interest in competing for work of this nature seem to be the class least able to take advantage of the opportunities afforded.' Reports on Continuation Classes and Central Institutions, 1910/11, NLS, GEB 1/1 pp.46-47.

by 1914, this figure was 189.¹ In many respects, the small number of professionally qualified domestic science teachers was a reflection of the low priority it was accorded within policy-making circles before 1900. Thus, instruction in domestic subjects was widely regarded as of marginal educational value in the training programme of teachers in comparison with other subjects in the curricula. The transitional shift in attitudes in favour of providing a supply of professionally qualified domestic science teachers was expressed by Miss Crawford, in inspectress of domestic subjects in 1912:

Now that cookery classes are so general, difficulty is experienced in obtaining a supply of certificated teachers. It is unfortunate that too often the only available instructress is a young and inexperienced teacher fresh from the training college.²

A similar comment was made by R. Morant in 1910:

... It is beginning to be widely recognised that the teaching might be made more practical in certain directions.

Therefore, what the first few decades of the twentieth century saw, was the raising of educational standards and the professionalisation of domestic science teachers. Notably, the desirability of obtaining a supply of fully qualified teachers in domestic subjects was visible in policy-making circles only by

1. Summary of Evidence of the Reports of the Edinburgh Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers 1910/1914, SRO/57/5.
2. Reports on Continuation Classes and Central Institutions 1911/12, pp.24-25.
3. Circular 758, op.cit.

**PAGES
MISNUMBERED
IN
ORIGINAL**

the twentieth century, whereas it was regarded as a key priority by female pioneers in the voluntary organisations during the late nineteenth century. Another irony was ~~that~~ whilst female pioneers in the late nineteenth century attached special significance to the teaching of domestic subjects in schools, a generation later, it was accepted principally as another form of employment and remuneration for girls. Likewise, the professional training of females for this purpose was the successful outcome of the dynamic campaign ^{for} / the integration of domestic subjects in elementary schools for girls dating from the 1870s.

Deriving from this analysis, two particular questions will be selected for scrutiny in the next section. Firstly, what was the social composition and identity of the group of female pioneers who spearheaded the campaign for domestic instruction for schoolgirls? Secondly, what were their motives for encouraging sex specific subjects within the curriculum and the further separation of gender roles within the teaching profession?

Section three: Motives and Some Implications of the Domestic Education Campaign on Gender Divisions of Labour within the Scottish Teaching Profession.

Sheila Rowbotham in a recent article in Beyond the Fragments, recorded her personal definition of feminism as:

... a movement to assert the interests of women as a sex.¹

This definition of feminism loosely accords with the views held amongst a small and elite group of female educationalists in Scotland during the late nineteenth century. An important but ironic feature of the female pioneers' encouragement of sex specific subjects in the curriculum was that it was wholly compatible with their broader commitment to the improvement of women's political social and economic position in society.

From the outset, the domestic education campaign was motivated by a strong urge to provide females with an autonomous and independent existence as a sex, within the educational sphere. It was perceived as an opportunity for providing women with power and influence on policy-making decisions relating to the education of girls and the professional skills of female teachers. This was closely accompanied by their attempts to raise the status and educational value of separate activities undertaken exclusively by women. In this respect, they interpreted the notion of learning housework in schools as a radical and innovative measure in terms of recognising women's work in the public sphere in addition to the

1. S. Rowbotham, 'The Women's Movement and Organising for Socialism', R. Rowbotham, L. Segal and H. Wainwright (eds.), Beyond the Fragments (1979), Part II, p.50.

private realm of the home. From the late 1870s onwards, it was from this standpoint that they attempted to convince their male counterparts of the educational value of practical lessons in cookery and household management in schools.

The main forum to express and promote these ideas was on the publicly elected school boards. The number of women elected onto school boards was always small; a maximum of three females was generally interpreted as an acceptable number out of a total of fifteen members on a city school board; whilst in rural areas there was usually either a sole female representative among the five school board members or else none at all.¹

Having been elected onto school boards, the small minority of female representatives usually concentrated their efforts on matters relating to the welfare of girls and the instruction of cookery for schoolgirls.²

The underlying aims of the domestic education campaigners were in close accord with their bid to influence and broaden educational opportunities for girls and female teachers in Scottish elementary schools. Hence, election onto a school board was regarded as only one means by which to combat deep-seated prejudices against the entry of women into teaching, medicine and the Scottish Universities. Therefore, for many ladies, participation

1. Summary of Evidence from Reports of Membership on School Boards throughout Scotland, 1873/1914.

2. Ibid.

on school boards was accompanied by their wider involvement in organisations such as the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association - formed in 1867 with the purpose of encouraging female attendance at the Universities.¹

In addition, there is some evidence which would suggest that many of the female school board representatives were involved in the 'Women's Movement' during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some ladies were active in the Suffragist and later Suffragette campaigns to achieve political status for women whilst others were more concerned with economic problems relating to low wages and poor employment prospects of female workers. For example, Clarice McNab Shaw, a Labour MP in 1945, was first elected onto Leith School Board in 1913;² apart from her interest in the employment prospects of female teachers, and the welfare of children, she was an active and prominent member of the Women's Labour League - an organisation concerned with the alleviation and improvement of female prospects in the labour market.³

Apart from a common commitment to the improvement of women's interests as a sex, how could this group of female representatives on the city school boards be characterised?

-
1. For further information on the aims and membership of the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association see S. Hamilton, 'The First Generations of University Women 1869-1930' in G. Donaldson (ed.), Four Centuries: Edinburgh University 1583-1983 (forthcoming, Edinburgh University Press, 1983?)
 2. For further information on her professional and career activities, see H. Corr, 'Clarice McNab Shaw' shortly to be published in W.W. Knox (ed.), Scottish Labour Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary (Edinburgh 1983) and in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. ? (1983?).
 3. Ibid.

The composition of women elected onto school boards could be loosely defined as an elite group of upper/^{middle}class ladies (although not exclusively so) who were extremely articulate and well educated. The views and value judgements of this group were cohesive and closely allied. Their exclusiveness as a group was expressed not only through a consensus of shared opinions but also through their class background and cultural values. They were bound together by a 'social conscience' which was reflected in their close involvement in the political and social life within their respective communities.¹

Generally speaking, this took the form of being affiliated to various charitable and philanthropic organisations for the welfare of children and the poor. In this context, many of the ladies were involved in missionary work connected chiefly with the Church of Scotland and the Free Church.² Much of the philanthropic work undertaken by these ladies was generated by fears that the family unit was falling into a state of moral degeneracy and physical collapse.³ Thus, domestic instruction for girls during school hours was perceived as one way of uplifting and preserving the stability of the family. In accordance with this

1. See, for further confirmation of these points, E. Millar, op.cit., pp.1-10.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

view, moral conduct was seen as an essential prerequisite for counteracting existing social evils in society. Consequently, on current issues such as the level of alcohol consumption, the ladies were generally in favour of temperance reform and some of them were members of the National Temperance Society.¹

In terms of occupation, virtually all of the female representatives were listed on school boards as having no specified employment but some of them had previously been employed as teachers;² whilst others were headmistresses of voluntary cookery schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh.³ Significantly, the majority of them were either spinsters or widowed and therefore / ^{exempted} of other time-consuming tasks like child rearing. The close identity and values of this elite group of ladies perhaps can best be illustrated with three brief biographical sketches of the activities of Miss Flora Stevenson, Miss Grace Paterson, and Mrs. Margaret Black, each of whom were longstanding members on a school board but whose interests closely coincided with other lady members. A brief outline of their respective

1. Ibid.

2. For example, Miss Guthrie Wright received her training in domestic subjects at the Kensington Training School, London.

3. The impression reached from the records of the respective cookery institutions was that the duties of the various principals did include some teaching commitments, especially involving practical and theoretical courses on cookery to members of the public.

careers should provide some further indication of their dual involvement in the 'Women's Movement' and in the campaign to introduce sex specific subjects into schools.

Flora Stevenson (1839-1905): Daughter of James, Business Partner of Jarrow Chemical Company, South Shields.

Flora Stevenson (spinster) was appointed onto the Edinburgh School Board alongside Miss Phoebe Blyth¹ at its inauguration in 1873 and she remained on the Board until her death in 1905. During this period, she had the distinction of becoming the first female Chairman of a Scottish School Board in 1900 - a position which she held until her death. In this official capacity, Flora Stevenson strove for equality of opportunity for female teachers in the areas of employment and was an outspoken advocate for parity of pay between single girls and bachelors.²

On the Edinburgh School Board, she served on several sub committees including that of school attendance, buildings, and work, but notably was never appointed onto the Salaries Committee. Her commitment to the cause of 'Womens Rights' however,

-
1. Miss Phoebe Blyth was another activist in supporting the introduction of domestic subjects into a girl's timetable. She was also involved in matters relating to the non-attendance of girls at school. Apart from her school board activities, Miss Blyth was a prominent member of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, and she used the forum of the NAPSS to publicise her views in support of this cause.
 2. For re-affirmation of this point, refer to chapter three, section three, p.131.

extended far beyond their activities on the school board. Like her sister Louisa Stevenson,¹ she campaigned for the opening of the Scottish Universities to girls and was a member of the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association (ELEA).² Her unequivocal belief in female equality of opportunity led to her radical involvement in the political campaign to achieve political status for women and she joined the national society for Womens Suffrage. In her political allegiances, Flora Stevenson defined herself as a Liberal Unionist and at one point in her career was Vice-President of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association. In addition, she was also appointed Vice President of the Women's Free Trade Union and the National Union of Women Workers.³

-
1. Miss Louisa Stevenson (spinster) was also extremely prominent in the nineteenth century 'Women's Movement' in Scotland. Alongside, Miss Guthrie Wright she was one of the founder members of the Edinburgh School of Cookery and acted in this capacity, as honorary treasurer. She was also a vociferous propagandist and gave numerous papers on aspects of domestic education for girls throughout Scotland. In addition, she was amongst the pioneers who finally achieved the opening of the Scottish Universities to women. Alongside Sophia Jex-Blake, she was an enthusiastic campaigner in support of the struggle to obtain medical education for women. Following their success on this issue, Louisa had the distinction of becoming one of the first ladies to sit on the Board of Directors on behalf of female nurses in the Royal Infirmary Hospital Edinburgh. Like her sister, Louisa Stevenson was a firm believer in the political equality of women and was a member of the suffrage society in Edinburgh. For further details on her involvement in University and medical education see S. Hamilton, forthcoming publication, op.cit.
 2. For further information on the career activities of the Stevenson sisters, see E.T. McLaren, Recollections of the Public Work and Home Life of Louisa and Flora Stevenson, NLS, 1181 E.36, p.57.
 3. Ibid.

Apart from her deep seated belief in female political representation, Flora Stevenson was involved in an extensive range of philanthropic organisations concerning welfare issues. She was a member of the Association for improving the condition of the poor and was a director of the Blind Asylum.¹ Essentially she was an ardent believer in charitable organisations for the relief of the poor and was strongly resistant to the idea of State Interference.² In keeping with this philosophical stance, she opposed the idea of school boards being held responsible for the welfare of children during school hours and hence, when the question of medical inspection and feeding of necessitous schoolchildren under the auspices of school boards, was debated in Parliament in 1905, her opposition was unequivocal. She argued:

It will be an evil day for Scotland if the legislative puts on school boards, the duty of providing meals out of public funds for underfed children ... Parents are all too ready to throw off their responsibilities. What is wanted is better organised charitable funds for the welfare of children.³

In keeping with these staunchly held views on individual self help and reliance on charitable funds, Flora Stevenson was

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Reports of the Edinburgh School Board, 1905, ECL YL 353, p. 76.

an influential member of the Charity Organisation Society (COS) and was an ardent admirer of one of its founder members, Octavia Hill.¹

In recognition of her longstanding interest in University education, she was made an LLD of Edinburgh University, and in 1899, the Edinburgh School Board paid her a further tribute by erecting the Flora Stevenson Elementary School in her honour. Flora Stevenson was widely recognised as a 'champion of female rights' by male and female contemporaries throughout her prominent career in the sphere of education and politics.

Grace Paterson (1843-1925): Daughter of Walter, a Glasgow Merchant.

Grace Paterson (spinster) was amongst the first two women (the other was Miss Mary Barlas²) to be elected onto the Glasgow School Board in 1885. At that time, she was Principal and Honorary Treasurer of the Glasgow School of Cookery. Her primary motive for seeking election onto the School Board was to campaign for the training of female teachers in domestic subjects. Once having been

1. E.T. McLaren, op.cit., p.37.

2. Miss Barlas' electoral campaign included support of learning housework in schools for girls during the 1880s.

elected, Grace Paterson took a particular interest in matters relating to the education of girls and female teachers. It was her view that school boards provided a suitable platform to express opinions '...concerning the interests of their sex'.¹ Within the broader sphere of education, she participated in the struggle to achieve the admission of women into Glasgow University and was a close friend of Janet Galloway who championed this cause. Moreover, Grace Paterson was an active member in the EIS and was a supporter of equal pay for women teachers. This point was highlighted at a meeting of the Glasgow Ladies Committee in 1899, when she endorsed Isabel Hamilton's motion that the Committee should reject differentiated salary scales because of the principle of paying more to men than to women for doing the same work.²

Grace Paterson took a keen interest in the industrial as well as the professional employment of women, and in 1890, was appointed convener of the Women's Industries Committee at the East End Industrial Exhibition in Glasgow. Like Flora Stevenson, she firmly supported the right of women to vote as an assertion of female political independence and she became active in the suffragist campaign.³

1. See E. Millar, op.cit., pp.2-5.

2. Minute book of the Glasgow Local Association, 12 May 1899, EIS Headquarters, Glasgow.

3. E. Millar, op.cit., pp.1-5.

In her political allegiances, Grace Paterson has been described as a supporter of Unionism.¹ To a large extent, Grace's political and social outlook was influenced by the neighbouring community in which she lived. She had been reared in a prestigious middle class area in the west end of Glasgow and was surrounded by a host of philanthropic neighbours including the Misses Harley who founded a boarding school for young ladies, Mrs. Arthur, a member of the Paisley School Board, and Sir James King, a Lord Provost of the city. Grace Paterson retired from the Glasgow School of Cookery in 1908 when it became a central institution and was placed under the control of the SED. She had previously retired from the Glasgow School Board before it was abolished in 1918.²

Margaret Black (1830-1903): Father, a bookmaker

Mrs. Margaret Black, wife of John Black a shawl manufacturer who died in 1874, was elected onto Glasgow School Board in 1891. Her election address centred on three issues: temperance reform; free education for schoolchildren; and the instruction of domestic economy for girls during school hours.³ Having been duly elected onto the school board she expressed a particular interest in infant care and the welfare of girls in schools. At the time of her election, Margaret Black was Principal of the West End School of Cookery in Glasgow and along with her counterpart Grace Paterson, they used every opportunity to advance closer links between school

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

boards and the cookery schools in order to achieve the domestic ~~education~~ for girls. Notably however, unlike Grace Paterson, she achieved influence and prestige within the community principally through social mobility rather than her class origins; thus showing that membership on school boards was not entirely the preserve of upper middle class ladies.

In spite of her humble class origins, Mrs. Black established a network of influential contacts during the course of her domestic education campaign. She was ^a successful writer of cookery books and her close friendship with the Collins family, one of the biggest publishing firms in Glasgow, ensured the publication of her numerous recipes.¹ Like other female pioneers involved in cookery organisations, she was a keen suffrage supporter although not actively involved in this campaign.

In her religious allegiances, Mrs. Black was a fervent member of the Free Church and it was primarily through this connection that she became involved in the temperance movement - at one point becoming office bearer of the National Temperance Society. In addition to these responsibilities, she acted as parish councillor in Glasgow. In politics, Margaret Black was described as an activist in 'liberal politics' and during the course of her career was Secretary of the Women's Liberal Association.² On her death in 1903,

1. This information is owed to Mrs. Mary Manchester, Baillie Library, Glasgow (May 1979).

2. E. Millar, op.cit., pp.1-7.

Mary Mackirdy, the daughter of Margaret Black's brother, was appointed Principal of the West End School of Cookery. Hence this voluntary school remained largely in the family and small ownership until it merged with the Glasgow School of Cookery in 1908.¹

These brief biographical sketches are indicative of a close network of mainly upper-class ladies whose membership in school boards was part of a wider campaign to improve the social and political position of women. In the eyes of many male contemporaries, those ladies were regarded as extremely radical in outlook and innovatory in their aims. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the social class and educational background of many of these ladies helped to lend an air of respectability and credibility to the minority cause of 'Women's Rights'. Such an admission was bluntly made by one male commentator / ^{when} referring to Flora Stevenson's personal influence in the 'Women's Movement'.

At a time when public ladies were sneered at as masculine, it required no little courage on the part of Miss Stevenson to break down the wall of prejudice which encircled the cause of women's emancipation. Thanks to ladies of the type of Miss Stevenson no more is ²heard of the unfitness of women for public life.

Yet, in spite of this acclamation, there were many other male commentators who expressed criticism of female educationalists for

1. Ibid.

2. Sir J. Gulland, 'A Tribute', Scottish Review, 22 October 1905, p.122.

their involvement in the 'Women's Movement'. Their opposition came to the forefront particularly at times when ladies who participated in the domestic education campaign also adopted an outspoken stance in support of controversial measures such as women's suffrage. For example, when the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects (ATDS) supported the extension of parliamentary franchise to women as early as 1908¹, it was regarded with contempt by many male contemporaries.²

Nonetheless,
/ it is important to appreciate that the radical beliefs shared among the female campaigners on school boards and within the respective cookery institutions were by no means representative of the views of their class as a whole, or lower down the social scale. Neither did they reflect the views and opinions of the rank and file of the female teachers throughout Scotland. However, because of their role as female representatives on school boards, they were regarded as the official mouthpiece of the female teaching staff and therewith lay their importance as a group. The views which this elite group of ladies disseminated through their absorption with the domestic education campaign ultimately had

-
1. Reports of Scottish Class Teachers' Association - Educational News, 20 March 1908, p.300.
 2. This information is owed to A.M. Turnbull, currently in the process of completing a Ph.D thesis on 'Changing Attitudes Towards the Instruction of Domestic Subjects in England, During the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Century'.

decisive repercussions for accentuating gender divisions between teachers within the profession, and this was reflected in the successful integration of domestic subjects for girls in the elementary school curriculum by 1914.

Some Implications

The question remains as to how specific groups perceive and respond to this phenomenon at various stages of the domestic subjects campaign within educational circles in Scotland?

From the educational writings of the period,¹ it is clear that the female pioneers and the second generation of female school board representatives firmly believed that they had secured a victory for 'Women's Rights'. It was interpreted as such because they had acquired the right to influence policy-making decisions relating to domestic education for girls. In the eyes of female pioneers, they had succeeded in their ambition to carve an autonomous area of independence from male domination within the educational system. The practical manifestation of this separate area of control, was that women came to supervise this whole aspect of education; sub committees of domestic economy on school boards

1. For example, see the Educational News between 1900 and 1914.

were exclusively composed of women; it was women who were entrusted with the responsibility of inspecting domestic subjects, and it was women teachers who gave instruction to girls in these subjects.¹

The separation of spheres between the sexes was therefore welcomed by ladies, on the grounds that independent activity was a means of asserting the professional and intellectual capabilities of women teachers at the workplace. Underlying this view was the stress on convincing males of the importance and value of women's work in the public realm in addition to the privacy of the home.² The perceived links between professionalism and intellectualism of female teachers on the one hand, and their domestic roles in the home on the other, were pinpointed by one woman in a speech in 1907.

We have sympathy with every movement that makes fresh points of contact between the school and the home ... there are things outside the household which a woman can do as well or better than a man just as there are things that a man can do better than a woman and our system of education should take cognisance of that fundamental fact ... and it should never be forgotten that there is

1. For further affirmation of this point, see J. Maxwell, op.cit., pp.12-25.
2. For analogous arguments on the compatibility of professionalism and domesticity as perceived by female educationalists during the late nineteenth century, see S. Delamont and L. Duffin, The Nineteenth Century Woman. Her cultural and physical world (1978), pp.135-139 and A.M. Wolpe, 'The Official Ideology of Education for Girls' in M. Flude and J. Atier (eds.) Educability, Schools and Ideology (1974), pp.138-59; R. Weir, 'Women's Colleges and Domesticity 1875-1918', in History of Education Quarterly No.14, 1974, pp.39-45; J. Conway, 'Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the USA', in History of Education Quarterly No.14, 1974, pp.2-10; P. Bunkle, 'Sentimental Motherhood and Domestic Education 1830-1870', History of Education Quarterly No.14, 1974, pp.13-28.

no necessary antagonism between intellectualism and domesticity otherwise a man¹ would for preference always marry a cook.

Thus, the second stage of the domestic education campaign was to convince male educationalists of the compatibility of female intellectualism with domesticity. It was within this context that they attempted to professionalise domestic subjects at cookery institutions by training and qualifying female teachers in these areas of specialisation. There were some ladies who felt that significant strides had been made in that direction by 1900. For example, a female teacher commented upon the links between the intellectual capabilities of women and female teachers' work in schools in this way:

...there was a time in Scotland certainly within the nineteenth century when public opinion granted that the average woman had a Soul but was doubtful about her brain ..² we are called here today to settle this doubt.

The focus on the intellectual competency of female teachers was accompanied by the argument that domestic subjects should be raised to the same educational status as the sciences and mathematical subjects. By the 1890s, the focus of the 'home rule' campaign became increasingly concerned with the idea that domestic economy should be treated as a science. Female pioneers vehemently argued that domestic subjects vigorously tested every faculty of a girl's mental intelligence and they resisted the notion that it

1. Educational News, 16 August 1907, p.719.
2. I.C. Hamilton, 'Women's Work in Public Schools', Educational News, 27 October 1900, p.206.

was either a recreational or non-academic subject. As Mrs. Bannatyne, a member of the Glasgow School Board, pointed out in 1912:

It matters much more that a girl should understand why she prepares carrots in a different way from turnips ... The first great principle we must bear in mind is that it can and must be used as an educational instrument or else it has no business being in the school curriculum. That is to say we must use it as a means of increasing the girl's intelligence of developing her reasoning powers or teaching her mind ... to turn out ¹ a more capable all round girl at the end of it.

Similarly, the language and references used by the campaigners to describe domestic subjects was subtly changing. Such phrases as the 'chemistry of cookery' and 'the high art and science of cookery' came into more common usage by the late 1890s. Thus, the campaigners achieved one of their greatest victories when the term domestic science was officially introduced into the educational code in 1897.² In the eyes of the pioneers this symbolised an important step in the acknowledgement that girls had scientific and academic minds like their male counterparts.

Yet in spite of their efforts to raise the professional status of domestic subjects the female campaigners failed to convince many of

1. K. Bannatyne, 'Teaching of Domestic Science: Some Practical Aspects', Educational News, 12 July 1912, p.646.

2. R.A. Bayliss, op.cit., pp.7-17.

their male contemporaries and female teachers of the academic value of domestic science. In practice, the victory was half-hearted and many of their ideals were not realised.¹ Although domestic subjects may have attained an official status in schools, the overall standing of domestic education was low and continued to be regarded as non-academic and recreational.² This perception of domestic science was certainly prevalent amongst the rank and file of the female teaching staff in Scotland - in spite of the growing number of qualified domestic science teachers. A clear indication of the low status attached to domestic education was articulated in an oral interview with a female teacher who had attended a teacher training college. When asked if she had studied domestic science during her course, the answer was emphatically:

No. There was no domestic science, only one girl went to the West of Scotland Cookery Centre. There was no entrance examination to cookery schools - it was easier to get into domestic science schools than it was into the training colleges. We thought they went into domestic science because they were going to get married and be better housekeepers but some came into teaching and we were very surprised.³

-
1. See M. Parkes, 'The Meaning and Place of Skill in the Domestic Science Curriculum' (M.Ed. thesis University of Leicester 1965).
 2. Another important aspect in the development of certain crafts which were deemed suitable to women's artistic talents concerned women's activities in the Glasgow school of art. For an illuminating article which focuses on the relative invisibility of women in professional art circles and in Art History, see L. Bird, 'Threading the Beads: Women in Art Education in Glasgow 1870-1920', shortly to be published in Glasgow Women's Studies Group (eds.), Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences (Glasgow, 1983), pp.98-117.
 3. Interview by H. Corr with Agnes Norris (Glasgow, 1979).

The assumption that women teachers studied domestic science to become 'better housekeepers' rather than imparting their professional expertise to girls in these subjects, served to highlight the ambivalent position in which they were actually held in the elementary school curriculum.

On the other hand, the inclusion of domestic subjects in the curriculum did have a decisive impact in terms of magnifying the divisions of labour between the sexes in teaching. In this respect, the teaching profession provided a splendid platform, for the reinforcement of the idea that women's talents and abilities in the home could also be developed in the classroom. By 1914, the extension of this view was expressed through female instruction of domestic science subjects and assistance to medical officers in the detecting of signs of medical defects in girls. This was in addition to the longstanding role of women teachers of teaching infants and the instruction of needlework.¹

Indeed, one important reason why the initial opposition of males on school boards to domestic science faded away, was precisely because there was no fundamental alteration or threat to the structure of the educational hierarchy or the curriculum.

The absorption of female members on to school boards in connection with specific matters relating to needlework, domestic education and to the welfare of girls

1. See for example, N. Whitbread, The Evolution of the Nursery Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain 1800-1970 (1972) and C.F. McCleay, The Maternity and Child Welfare Movement (1935).

meant that they did not as a rule impinge on issues of more material substance and economic / affecting both sexes. The separate territorial concerns of women members meant that their presence on school boards was more easily accepted and indeed was actually welcomed by some men; in referring to female membership on the Edinburgh School Board, Mr. Mndella, Secretary of Education, offered an illuminating definition of the highly selected functions and roles that women could perform, saying:

The Edinburgh School Board has the good fortune to have ladies among its members ... bringing ladies of gentle birth and education and refinement to take an interest in certain schools, in certain localities, to encourage the teachers to encourage the children to look after the sewing class, to have regard to the tidiness, comfort and general welfare of the children.¹

One primary explanation why domestic science was ultimately accepted in the elementary school curriculum was precisely because women did not challenge their traditional role as wife and mother. They fundamentally accepted basic assumptions about the family and the place of women within the family unit. As a result, there was no sustained campaign by women to challenge and attempt to undermine the basis of the school curriculum which was essentially based on gender differentiation. Hence, although the domestic education campaign initially provoked much opposition from male contemporaries because of its radical outlook, the tensions between

1. Scotsman, 15 January 1884, p.96.

the sexes were contained merely because the aspirations of the female campaigners were limited and well defined. Ultimately, they adopted a role for themselves that was compensatory to that of men rather than in direct competition with the traditional values and the work of male scholars. Moreover, women continued to play little active part in the execution of policy-making decisions affecting the economic and material prospects of women teachers.

Recently, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese analysed in more general terms the reactions of various women's groups to / ^{their} systematic exclusion / ^{from} power within job structures and politics; and in referring to women's participation in a series of historical events she drew the conclusion that:

... women did develop discrete values, frequently in conflict with those of the men of their own group and frequently in common with the specific sensibilities of women of other groups. But the foundation of women's values and self-consciousness lay in the tension between their exclusion of exchange values and political power and the values they had developed within the interstices of a male dominated world.

The case study of domestic science training of girls provides a clear indication of the complexities and ambiguities inherent in attempting to understand the historical evolution of feminist consciousness. At one level, the nineteenth century domestic education campaign was interpreted as a positive assertion of

1. 'Placing Women's History in History', New Left Review No.134, Summer 1982, p.29.

female independence in a professional capacity, but on another level, the ^{women involved} / developed traditional values in harmony with the dominant conception of segregated family roles. Likewise, although learning housework in schools may have been perceived as an innovative phenomenon during the late nineteenth century it did not actually transform the content of women's work¹ which continued to be devised along sex specific lines. What it did achieve was the creation of another avenue of employment for girls who wished to become domestic science teachers.

Nevertheless, there were a few women who, supporting the domestic education campaign, also questioned the degree of sexual differentiation that was made within the curriculum. For example, during the 1890s, Mrs. Burton along with Flora Stevenson recorded her recommendation to the Edinburgh School Board that boys as well as girls should be taught needlework and cookery, and similarly, that woodwork or handicraft should form part of a girl's training. It was recorded in the Minutes of the Committee of Management that

1. For an analysis of the status of housework, see A. Oakley, The Sociology of Housework (New York, Pantheon Books 1973).

the motion had been repeatedly made but each time it was casually dismissed from the Agenda without further discussion.¹

The conclusion to the domestic ideology debate was that women scientists tended to be identified as biologists and nutritionists rather than ^{with} the physical sciences. Up until the present day fewer girls undertake scientific subjects at a secondary school level than boys, whilst in the British Universities the a higher/^{proportion} of girls enter the Art Faculties in preference to the Science Faculties.² The irony of this phenomenon was that a small elite group of female educationalists played an active and dynamic role towards reinforcing sexual divisions in the teaching profession by promoting domestic science as an academic subject for girls. Ultimately they ^{did} not achieve much success in raising the status of domestic science in schools, and in this respect, the campaign may have produced a different outcome than they themselves intended. The overriding significance of the domestic education campaign was ^{that} it clearly held a very different and distinctive meaning, for many female educationalists who were active in the 'Women's Movement' during the nineteenth century than for many female contemporaries in the last quarter of this century.

1. Reports of ESB, 1 February 1893, ECL YL 353, pp.54-5.

2. For recent research on the development of the schoolgirls curriculum in secondary schools and at the Universities see especially, C.L. Jones and A.F. McPherson, 'Do they Choose or are They Pushed?', The Times Higher Educational Supplement (subsequently referred to as THES) 9 June 1972, pp.9-10; C.L. Jones and A.F. McPherson, 'Why don't those Girls go to University?', THES, 2 June 1972, pp.7-8; C.L. Jones and A.F. McPherson, 'College has been a Second-Best', THES, 16 June 1972, p.11; A. Stevens, 'Study finds Boys are Teachers' Pets', The Observer, 13 February 1983, p.3; M. Morland, 'How the Scales are Weighted against Women', Guardian, 15 June 1982, p.15; M. Morrison, 'Mathematical Ability based on Sex Differentiation', work in progress, High School, Bedlington, Northumberland.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The big room was divided into four classrooms. Miss Forster, who in addition to supervising the entire school, also taught the fifth standard ... Miss Forster also interviewed the parents ... acted as musical superintendent, conducted the class and the school choirs, gave piano lessons ... I am sure Miss Forster and her colleagues must have worked a twelve hour day ... yet her salary probably did not exceed £100 but I never knew her to complain about her work. She and her mother lived in a small house adjoining the school so she was always at hand when needed.

All the teachers in the big room were known to us personally. They were the daughters of miners who had volunteered for teaching because they didn't like domestic service or factory employment. They lived in miner's houses, knew our social conditions intimately and were sympathetic to our hardships and difficulties. Very often they used their pocket money to buy books, pencils, pens and rubbers when our parents were hard up.

P.J. Dollan,¹ Autobiography; Recollections of his schooldays at St. Bridget's School, Baillieston, Lanarkshire, during the 1890s, pp.55-6.

The above extracts vividly portray a pupil's perceptions of the daily routine, pay, social background, and conditions of work of female teachers who lived in the mining community of Baillieston. They forcibly depict Miss Forster's deep sense of personal commitment and involvement with pupils, parents and relatives. By implication, ^{they} served to highlight the enormous diversity of women teachers' experiences and their perceptions of their own jobs according to the region and community in which they lived.

1. For further information on P.J. Dollan, see his biography by H. Corr and W.W. Knox in W.W. Knox (ed.), Scottish Labour Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary (forthcoming, Edinburgh 1983).

This thesis has sought to abstract and generalise about the economic and work roles between the sexes within an occupational structure. Overall, the study of the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession during the late nineteenth century demonstrated how existing differences in income and social status became magnified between the sexes and formed an intricate part of an occupational hierarchy.

Gender roles in key occupational sectors of elementary schools became more clearly defined and rigid during the latter decades of the late nineteenth century. This process was a dynamic one. In the vision of male policy makers, the mass employment of women teachers during this period became more closely associated with sex specific roles within state elementary schools than at any time previously. The large scale employment of women, teachers in the infant department was based on the dominant ideology of woman in her traditional role as wife and mother. Separate spheres of work to be undertaken by each was a principle that gender/received increasing encouragement during the 1870s. It was based on a growing conviction that women should have exclusive responsibility^{for} and control over the instruction of infants and young children. Shifting opinions in favour of a separate 'woman's sphere' within the elementary school structure were publicly expressed during the 1870s thus:

I have often expressed my conviction that the education of children up until the age of nine is women's work. They are better fitted for that kind of work than men ... The public school of the country is almost universally conforming to one type of organisation, that in which there is a master responsible for the whole, and the mistress under him for the instruction of the younger children.¹

The development of infant teaching as the exclusive preserve of women teachers meant that children no longer had the benefit of gaining knowledge from both sexes which had been the common practice during the 1820s and 1830s. Correspondingly, during the late nineteenth century, the learning and formative experiences of infants were now shaped almost entirely under the dominant influence of women teachers who acted as 'mothers' during school hours. One important and symbolic outcome of this process was that occupational roles were increasingly adapted in harmony with gender roles within the family. Thus, although employment opportunities for women in the teaching profession underwent an unprecedented expansion during the late nineteenth century the relationship between women teachers' work in schools and their perceived roles within the home became more visible and well defined.

The study has also sought to show how women's exclusion from senior positions of power and authority in the SED resulted in the active encouragement of the instruction of sex specific subjects for schoolgirls and that this was also based on the stereotype of the housewife's role within the family. It was argued that in order

1. See chapter two, section one, pp.63-4.

to establish a power base, small groups of female teachers carried out separate territories of 'interest' ^{apart those of} /from/ men but within well defined areas of the educational structure. Inside the EIS, Ladies Committees were formed in 1900 with the express purpose of representing 'women's interests' - defined as matters relating to sewing, size of classrooms, and cookery. It was noted that the Ladies' Committee's definition of women's interests was narrow and that they did not seriously attempt to embark on issues of a much more controversial nature such as equal pay. A plausible explanation for the Ladies' Committee's failure to engage on such issues was that they were intent on avoiding potential areas of conflict with men. As an alternative to encroaching on territories of mutual interest (such as pay and promotion) they concentrated on separate spheres of work undertaken exclusively by infant and domestic science teachers. In so doing, the Ladies' Committee did not constitute a fundamental threat to the ideas or positions of male officials in the EIS.

Meanwhile, on the publicly elected school boards, a small group of articulate and well educated women promoted the notion of housework for schoolgirls during the late 1870s in the belief that it was an assertion of female power and independence as a sex within the Scottish educational system. By 1914, the successful outcome of this dynamic campaign was that women came to supervise this whole aspect of domestic education for girls; sub committees of

domestic science on school boards were exclusively composed of women, it was women inspectors who were entrusted with the responsibility of inspecting domestic subjects, and it was women teachers who gave instruction to girls in these subjects.

From the standpoint of female educationalists, they firmly believed that they had secured a victory for 'Women's Rights'. It was interpreted as such, because they had acquired the right to influence policy making decisions relating to the domestic education of girls. In practice, however, the victory was half-hearted because many of their ideals were not realised; although domestic subjects may have attained an official status in schools, the overall standing of domestic education was low and continued to be regarded as non-academic and non-scientific.

From the perspective of male officials, any initial opposition to the domestic science faded precisely because women did not fundamentally challenge their role within the family unit. Moreover, the power base of female school board representatives was narrow and well defined and did not encroach on the territories or policies of men. A widespread perception of womens' role within the educational structure was encapsulated by a senior ranking educational official:

The Edinburgh School Board has the good fortune to have ladies among its members ... to take interest in certain schools, in certain localities, to encourage the teachers to encourage the children to look after the sewing class.¹ (my emphasis)

1. See chapter five, section three, p.255.

Overall, therefore, female representatives on school boards and in the EIS adopted a role for themselves that was compensatory to that of men rather than in direct competition with the traditional values and work of male scholars. Most important, they failed to acquire power and influence in the execution of policy making decisions affecting the economic and material prospects of women teachers. Within the educational structure, therefore, women held an inferior and subordinate position in the profession in relation to men throughout the period under scrutiny.

With respect to the economic functions of each sex within the teaching labour market, ^{has} this thesis /argued that economic discrimination against women teachers was a fundamental feature of the Scottish educational system in Victorian and Edwardian Scotland. In spite of achieving identical professional qualifications as males of the same occupational grade, skilled female teachers could never expect to earn the same wage as men in Scotland before 1914. It was further concluded that employers were intrinsically aware that a strong relationship existed between pay, skill and gender. Many of them took advantage of an abundant supply of skilled female labour in the knowledge that they could be employed at a cheaper rate, thus suggesting that far from being an objective economic fact, skill was a social and ideological category which was impregnated with sexual bias. In effect, it meant that the meanings attached to skill were quite different for

men and women, with a lower economic value being placed on the work undertaken by female assistant certificated teachers in the profession. Essentially, therefore, the mass employment of women teachers during the late nineteenth century was indeed intricately interwoven with economic factors in the vision of male educational policy makers and employers.

The knowledge that skilled female teachers could be employed at a cheaper rate aroused much discontentment and resentment amongst male assistant certificated teachers. Many of them expressed the belief that the scarcity of male teachers in the profession was directly due to the undercutting of their own wages by women. Furthermore, when the services of men could not be obtained at the salaries advertised by school boards, females were offered the same teaching posts for much lower wages. Overall, the thesis argued that the economic relationship between skilled male and female teachers was closely inter-connected within certain sectors of the occupational structure in elementary schools. However, in other sectors, such as the infant department, there was little debate or controversy amongst male teachers concerning the wages received by female teachers precisely because this occupational sector was demarcated in accordance with gender.

The thesis also sought to show that pay inequality was not unique to women teachers. There were marked disparities in pay between men of the same occupational grade, produced as a result of differences in school board policies and practices throughout Scotland. Thus, whilst one male teacher in Edinburgh was receiving

£120 per annum, his less fortunate counterpart across the city boundary of Leith received £95 for doing the same work. The fact that it was largely at the discretion of some 984 school boards to devise a teacher's salary meant that enormous discrepancies arose in teachers' pay, irrespective of sex.

Dissatisfaction with the lack of uniformity in school board policies on pay provided another reason for grave discontent and growing disillusionment amongst male assistant certificated teachers in particular. In spite of intense dissatisfaction on the issue of pay, teachers were unable to unite and evolve a definite strategy on this issue. This was primarily due to the intense disunity between sectional groups inside the EIS and SCTA. There were hierarchical divisions between higher grade schoolmasters, elementary headmasters, and male assistants, on the one hand, and between elementary schoolmistresses, infant mistresses, female assistants, and domestic science teachers, on the other. This situation was reinforced by the divorce between the views of the leadership and the rank and file membership. Thus, female teachers could not rely on the support of the Ladies Committee because of the latter's concern to avoid potential areas of open conflict with male leaders. Male teachers, seeking higher remuneration, failed to win the full support of senior ranking male officials because of the latter's fear of arousing public resentment against teachers' claims to professional status.

Overall, this thesis has sought to highlight the different dimensions, ambiguities and complexities involved in a study of gender relationships within the elementary school teaching profession. In doing so, it has attempted to make a positive contribution towards filling the existing gap in the historical literature on school teachers during the Victorian and Edwardian period in Scotland.

APPENDIX INumber of Scholars Receiving Domestic Education - Primary and
Higher Grade Schools in Scotland, 1900-1914.

Year	Cookery Schools	Scholars	Laundry Schools	Scholars	Dress making schools	Scholars	Household economy schools	Scholars
1901-2	615	47,125	90	5,135	24	1,068	11	465
1902-3	609	57,500	101	6,597	30	1,353	21	595
1903-4	633	47,651	128	5,899	47	2,565	45	1,498
1904-5	666	47,965	178	8,129	62	4,125	70	2,692
1905-6	701	49,533	188	9,370	69	5,440	94	5,099
1906-7	711	53,875	206	11,117	82	6,652	106	5,980
1907-8	762	54,893	233	13,241	94	7,470	136	8,073
1908-9	833	57,575	269	16,620	134	10,077	168	10,029
1909-10	937	61,750	324	20,321	151	12,457	186	11,757
1910-11	1,106	65,026	417	24,565	180	14,150	194	11,548
1911-12	1,336	68,320	517	28,258	207	15,705	226	12,635
1912-13	1,444	70,852	593	32,482	233	18,553	252	15,182
1913-14	1,556	74,457	635	35,662	263	21,480	258	15,972

Source: PP 1914/5 Cmd. 792 Vol. XIX. Reports of the Committee
of the Council on Education in Scotland, 1914.

ABBREVIATIONS

Committee of the Council on Education in Scotland	(CCES)
Education Committee of the Church of Scotland	(ECCS)
Education Committee of the Free Church	(ECFC)
Educational Institute of Scotland	(EIS)
National Union of Teachers	(NUT)
Socialist Teachers Society	(STS)
Scottish Class Teachers Association	(SCTA)
Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences	(TWAPSS)

BIBLIOGRAPHYMANUSCRIPTS

Glasgow School of Cookery.

Minute Book of the Edinburgh College of Domestic Science 1897/1918 (ECDS).

Minute Book of the Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science, Parts I and II 1893/1913.

Miscellaneous Records of the Glasgow School of Cookery and West End School of Cookery: 1874-1892 (GSC & WESC).

Reports of the Edinburgh School of Cookery.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Annual Reports by HM Inspectors, 1873-1905.

Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

Correspondence between R. Morant and J. Struthers, 9 June 1910.

1872 Education (Scotland) Act.

Fraser, M. (HMI), Reports on Continuation classes and Central Institutions 1910/11.

Parliamentary Papers, 1852 - 1916.

Reports of Edinburgh and Glasgow Provincial Committee (EPC/GPC), 1905 - 1916.

Reports of the Committee of the Council on Education in Scotland (CCES), 1873 - 1908.

Reports of Membership on School Boards throughout Scotland, 1873 - 1914.

Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland).

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.

Report of Hobhouse Committee, 1906.

Memorandum from Board of Education
Circular 757, 'Teaching of Infant Care and
Management in Public Elementary Schools',
1910.

SED Papers, 1893.

OTHER OFFICIAL REPORTS

Argyll School Board - Minutes, 1897.

Dumfries School Board - Reports

Dundee School Board - Reports, 1897.

Eastwood School Board, 1884.

Edinburgh School of Cookery.

EIS Rural Teachers' Committee; Summary, 1911.

Fraserburgh School Board.

Govan School Board - Minutes, 1903.

Glasgow School Board - Minutes, 2.1.1879 (GCA).

Reports of Education Committee to the General
Assembly of the Church of Scotland (ECCS),
1871 - 1896.

Reports of the Education Committee of the
Free Church of Scotland (ECFCS), 1871 - 1876.

Reports of Perth Association of Class
Teachers, 1914.

Reports of EIS Proceedings, 1873 - 1917.

Selkirk School Board.

School Board Log Books - Edinburgh, 1872 - 1900.

TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

'On the Education of Pauper Children', paper
read at the Proceedings of the NAPSS (London
1862), pp.287-92.

WORKS OF REFERENCE

Morrison, M. 'Mathematical Ability Based on
Sex Differentiation'; work in progress,
High School, Bedlington, Northumberland.

PAMPHLET

Sutherland, S. Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century (1971), 52pp.

NEWSPAPERS

BUCKMASTER, J.C.

'Practical Cookery in Girls' Schools', in North British Daily Mail, 16 October 1877, p.137.

GULLAND, Sir J.

'A Tribute', Scottish Review, 22 October 1905, p.122.

JONES, C.L. &
MCPHERSON, A.F.

'College has been a second-best', Times Higher Educational Supplement, 16 June 1972, p.11.

JONES, C.L. &
MCPHERSON, A.F.

'Do they Choose or are they pushed?', Times Higher Educational Supplement, 9 June 1972, pp.9-10

JONES, C.L. &
MCPHERSON, A.F.

'Why don't those girls go to University?', Times Higher Educational Supplement, 2 June 1972, pp.7-8.

MORLAND, M.

'How the scales are weighted against Women', Guardian, 15 June 1982, p.15.

Scotsman, 15 December 1876; 15 January 1884.

STEVENS, A.

'Study finds boys are teachers' pets', The Observer, 13 February 1983, p.3.

The Bailie, 'Dominie Salaries of Teachers under Edinburgh and Glasgow School Board Contrasted', 26 May 1886.

THESES

CLEMENTS, H.

'The Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects and the Place of Domestic Science in the School Curriculum' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Warwick, 1979).

COLLINS, B.

'Migration; Movements in Two Scottish Towns: Paisley and Dundee' (unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1978).

HAMILTON, S.

Forthcoming Ph.D 'Women at Edinburgh 1869-1930'.

- HOLLEY, J. 'The Redivision of Labour. Two firms in Nineteenth Century South East Scotland' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1978).
- KNOX, W.W. 'British Apprenticeship 1800-1914' (unpublished Ph.D, University of Edinburgh 1980).
- MAXWELL, J.D. 'School Board and Pupil Welfare: Govan School Board 1873-1919' (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1975).
- MONIES, M. 'The Impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act on Scottish Working Class Education up to 1899' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974).
- MYERS, J.D. 'Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy 1803-1872: Attitudes and Influence' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh 1970).
- ORAM, A. Forthcoming Ph.D on 'Attitudes of the NUT to equal pay', London.
- PARKES, M. 'The Meaning and Place of Skill in the Domestic Science Curriculum' (M.Ed. thesis, University of Leicester, 1965).
- TURNBULL, A.M. 'Changing Attitudes Towards the Instruction of Domestic Subjects in England, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' (Ph.D thesis, London).
- TURNER, D. 'Equal Pay for Equal Work? The Equal Pay Dispute in the NUT: 1919-1923' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Warwick, 1979).
- WYNN, B. 'Aspects of the Teaching of Domestic Subjects' (unpublished MA dissertation, Institute of Education, London, 1974).

JOURNALS

- BANNATYNE, K. 'The Teaching of Domestic Science: Some Practical Aspects', Educational News, 12 July 1912, p.646.

- BARBAR, B. 'Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions' in Daedalus 92, 4 (1963).
- BERGEN, B.H. 'Only a Schoolmaster: Gender, Class and the Effort to Professionalise Elementary Teaching in England 1870-1910', in History of Education Quarterly, Spring 1982, pp.1-23.
- BUNKLE, P. 'Sentimental Motherhood and Domestic Education 1830-1870', History of Education Quarterly, No.1914, 1974, pp.13-28.
- BURSTYN, J.W. 'Religious Arguments Against the Higher Education 1840-1890', Womens Studies No.1 (1), 1972, pp.111-31.
- BURSTYN, J.W. 'Women's Education in England during the late nineteenth century: A review of the literature 1970-1976', in History of Education No.1, Vol.6, 1977, pp.11-19.
- CHAMPLIN, B. & SLOANE, P.J. 'Personal Characteristics and Sex Differentials in Professional Employment', in Economic Journal, Vol.86, December 1976, pp.729-745.
- COGAN, M.L. 'Towards a Definition of Profession', Harvard Educational Review, 23 (1953).
- CONWAY, J. 'Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the USA', in History of Education Quarterly, No.14, 1974, pp.2-10.
- DAVIDOFF, L. ^{Servant, Wife and Mother} 'Mastered for Life; In Victorian and Edwardian England', in Journal of Social History, No.7, 1973-74, pp.406-420.
- DAVIN, A. 'Imperialism and Motherhood', History Workshop No.5, 1978, pp.9-65.
- DYHOUSE, C. 'Working Class Mothers and Infant Mortality rates in England 1895-1914', Journal of Social History No.2, Winter 1978, pp.248-259.

- DYHOUSE, C. 'Social Darwinistic Ideas and the Development of Women's Education in England 1880-1920', History of Education 51, 1976, pp.41-58.
- DYHOUSE, C. 'Good Wives and Little Mothers: Social Anxieties and the Schoolgirl's Curriculum: 1892-1920', Oxford Review of Education, Vol.3, No.1, 1977, pp.21-33.
- Educational News - 6 June 1896, pp.427, 669-70; 10 November 1900, pp.771-2; 7 June 1907, p.512; 16 August 1907, p.719; 20 March 1908, p.300; 26 June 1913, pp.637-38.
- FOX-GENOVESE, E. 'Placing Women's History in History', New Left Review, No.134, Summer 1982, p.29.
- GADEL KELLY, J. 'The Social Relation of Sexes' Methodological Implications of Women's History', No.4.1, Signs, Summer 1976, pp.809-23.
- GAUL, H. 'Teachers' Professional Union', Educational News, 10 July 1914, pp.669-70.
- HALL, R. 'Professionalisation and Bureaucratisation', American Sociological Review, 33 (1968).
- HAMILTON, I.C. 'Women's Work in Public Schools' in Educational News, 27 October 1900, p.206.
- HAMILTON, S. 'Interviewing the Middle class: Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c.1910-1935', Oral History, Vol.10, No.2, Autumn 1982, pp.58-67.
- HARTMAN, H. 'Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex', No.3.1 Signs, Pt.2, 1976, pp.137-69.
- JOHNSON, R. 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', Past and Present No.49, 1970, pp.96-119.
- LAND, H. 'The Family Wage' in Feminist Review No.6, 1980, pp.55-85.
- LEE, C.H. 'Modern Economic Growth and Structural Change in Scotland: The Service Sector Reconsidered', in T.M. Devine and T.C. Smout, (eds.), Scottish Economic and Social History Journal, Vol.3, No.3, 1983, pp.5-36.

- MARTINEAU, H. 'Female Industry' in Edinburgh Review Vol. CCXXII (1859), p.317.
- MCCREARY, H.W. 'British Labour and the Royal Commission on Trade Unions 1867-69', University of Toronto Quarterly, XXIV (1955).
- MCDONALD, C. 'The Position of Assistant Teachers: The Professional Outlook', Educational News, 5 January 1894.
- MJMG 'Equal Pay to Men and Women', Educational News, 17 April 1914.
- MOORE, L.R. 'Aberdeen and the Higher Education of Women 1868-1877', Aberdeen University Review, No.163, Spring 1980.
- PHILLIPS, A. & TAYLOR, B. 'Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics', in Feminist Review No.6, 1980, pp.55-58.
- RAVENHILL, R. 'Domestic Science and the Domestic Arts', Journal of Education Vol.XXIX, 1907, pp.775-78.
- RAVENHILL, R. 'Eugenic Ideals for Motherhood', in Eugenics Review I, 1907, pp.264-79.
- RAVENHILL, R. 'Report on the Teaching of Hygiene in the USA', Journal of Royal Sanitary Institute, Vol.XXIII, 1902, pp.27-29.
- SCTA Glasgow Local Association, 27 February 1914 - Minute Book.
- SEARLE, G.R. 'Eugenics and Politics in Britain in the 1930s' in Annals of Science No.36, 1979, pp.159-69.
The Class Teacher, February 1904, p.44; 1914.
- THOMPSON, I. 'The Origins of Physical Education in State Schools', Scottish Education Review, 10, 1978, pp.15-23.

- TURNBULL, P. &
WILLIAMS, G. 'Sex Differentials in Teachers' Pay' in
Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,
137, Part 2, 1974, pp.245-57.
- WEIR, R. 'Women's Colleges and Domesticity 1875-
1918', in History of Education Quarterly
No.14, 1974, pp.39-45.
- WEIR, A. &
MCINTOSH, M. 'Towards a Wages Strategy for Women' in
Feminist Review No.10, Spring 1982, pp.3-5.

BOOKS

- ALEXANDER, S. 'Women's Work in Nineteenth Century London,
1820-1850', in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley
(eds.), The Rights and Wrongs of Women
(Penguin 1976), pp.17-59.
- ANDERSON, G. Victorian Clerks (Manchester UP, 1976).
- ANDERSON, R. Education and Opportunity in Victorian
Scotland (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983).
- ASKWITH, G.R. Industrial Problems and Disputes (London,
1920).
- BAIN, A. Education in Stirlingshire from the Reformation
to the Act of 1872 (Univ. of London Press,
1965).
- BANKS, J. & O. Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian
England (New York, 1964).
- BAYLISS, R. Aberdeen School of Domestic Science. An
Outline History (Aberdeen 1979).
- BEETON, A. The Book of Household Management (London, 1861).
- BECKER, G.S. The Economics of Discrimination (University
of Chicago Press, 1971).
- BELFORD, A.J. Centenary Handbook of the Educational
Institute of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1946).
- BEST, G. Mid Victorian Britain 1851-75 (London, 1971).

- BIRD, L. 'Threading the Beads: Women in Art Education in Glasgow 1870-1920', forthcoming in Glasgow Women's Studies Group (eds.), Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Womens' Experiences (Glasgow 1983), pp.98-117.
- BLUM, A. Teachers Unions and Associations: A Comparative Study (University of Illinois, 1969).
- BONE, T.R. (ed.) Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939 (London, 1967).
- BONE, T.R. 'The Dismissal of Ordinary Teachers 1873-1882' in T.R. Bone (ed.), op.cit., pp.85-98.
- BONE, T.R. 'Teachers and Security of Tenure' in T.R. Bone (ed.), op.cit., pp.71-134.
- BOWLEY, A.L. Wages and Income in the United Kingdom Since 1860 (Cambridge, 1937).
- BOYD, W. Education in Ayrshire Through Seven Centuries (London, 1961).
- BRANCA, P. Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home (London, 1975), pp.34-5.
- BROOM, J. John Maclean (Macdonald Press, 1973).
- BROWN, K.D. Labour and Unemployment 1900-1914 (Newton Abbot, 1971).
- BROWNE, M. A Century of Pay (London, 1959).
- BUCHANAN, R. The Schoolmaster in the Wynds or How to Educate the Masses (Glasgow, 1850).
- BURSTALL, S.A. Retrospect and Prospect: Sixty Years of Women's Education (London, 1933).
- CAMPBELL, R.H. Scotland since 1707 (Oxford, 1965).
- CARR SAUNDERS, A.M. & WILSON, P.A. The Professions (London, 1933).
- CARTER, I. Farm Life in North-East Scotland, 1840-1914 (London, 1979).

- CHIPLIN, B. &
SLOANE, P.J. Sex Discrimination in the Labour Market
(London, 1976).
- CLARKE, A.K. A History of the Cheltenham Ladies College, 1853-1953 (London, 1953).
- CLARKE, J. Problems of National Education (1919)
- CLOUGH, A. A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough (London, 1879).
- COLE, D.H. Short History of the British Working Class Movement (London, 1927).
- CONSTANCE, R. Women's Suffrage and Party Politics
(London, 1973).
- CORR, H. 'Martin Haddow' (forthcoming publication in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol.8, 1984).
- CORR, H. 'Clarice McNab Shaw' (forthcoming in W.W. Knox (ed.) Scottish Labour Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary (Edinburgh 1983) and in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), op.cit.
- CORR, H. & KNOX, W.W. 'P.J. Dollan biography' (forthcoming in W.W. Knox (ed.), op.cit.
- GROSSICK, G. The Lower Middle Class in Britain (London, 1977).
- CRUICKSHANKS, M. A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland (London, 1970).
- CURRIE, J. The Principles and Practice of Early School Education (Edinburgh 1857).
- DAVIDOFF, L. The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season (London, 1973).
- DAVIS, E. Home and Education of Women (London 1878).
- DEARLE, N. Industrial Training (London, 1914).

- DELAMONT, S. &
DUFFIN, L. (eds.) The Nineteenth Century Woman. Her cultural and physical world (London, 1978).
- DICKENS, C. David Copperfield (London, 1850).
- DRAKE, B. Women in Trade Unions (1920).
- DUBLIN, T. Women at Work (New York, 1980)
- DUFFIN, L. 'Prisoners for Progress: Women and Education' in S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds.), op.cit., pp.57-89.
- FERGUSON, T. Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914 (Edinburgh, 1958).
- FINN, M. 'Social Efficiency Progressivism and Secondary Education in Scotland 1885-1905' in W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson (eds.), Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980 (Edinburgh 1983), pp.175-96.
- FIRTH, C.B. Constance Louisa Maynard (London, 1949).
- GIBB, Rev. Spenser J. The Boy and his Work (London, 1911).
- GILLESPIE, F.E. Labour and Politics in England 1850-67 (Durham WC, 1927).
- GILLIES, D. A Pioneer of Catholic Teacher-Training in Scotland: Sister May of St. Wilfred (Liverpool, 1978).
- GORDON, E. 'Women Trade Unions and Industrial Militancy 1850-1890' in Glasgow Women's Study Group (eds.), op.cit., pp.52-73.
- GOSHEN, P.H. The Evolution of a Profession: A Study of the Contributions of Teachers' Associations to the Development of School Teaching as a Professional Occupation (Oxford, 1972).
- GOURVISH, T.R. 'The Standard of Living 1890-1914' in A.O. Day (ed.), The Edwardian Age. Conflict and Stability 1900-1914 (London, 1979).

- GRACE, G. Teachers Ideology and Control
(London, 1978).
- GRAY, M. The Highland Economy 1750-1850
(Edinburgh 1957).
- GRAY, R.Q. The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian
Edinburgh (Oxford 1976).
- GREG, W.R. Why are Women Redundant? (Boston, 1873).
- GRYLLS, R.G. Queens College: 1848-1948 (London 1948).
- HADDOW, W.M. My Seventy Years (Glasgow, 1943), pp.66-77.
- HALL, E. 'The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology in S. Burman (ed.), Fit Work for Women (London, 1979), pp.9-15.
- HAMILTON, S. 'The first generations of University Women: 1869-1930', in G. Donaldson (ed.), Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life 1583-1983 (forthcoming, Edinburgh UP, 1983).
- HAMMOND, J.L. & B. The Skilled Labourer 1760-1832 (London 1919).
- HERON, A. The Merchant Company: Its Rise and Progress
(Edinburgh 1902).
- HEWITT, M. Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry
(London, 1958).
- HINTON, J. The First Shop Stewards Movement (London, 1973).
- HOBSBAWM, E.J. Labouring Men (London, 1964).
- HOBSBAWM, E.J. Industry and Empire (London, 1968).
- HOLCOMBE, L. Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle Class
Working Women in England and Wales, 1850-1914
(Newton Abbot, USA, 1973).
- HORN, P. The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant
(New York, St. Martin's Press, 1975).
- HORN, P. Education in Rural England, 1800-1914
(New York, 1971).

- HUMES, W.M. & PATERSON, H.M. Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980 (Edinburgh, 1983).
- HUNT, E.H. Regional Variations in Britain 1850-1914 (Oxford, 1973).
- HUNTER, J. The Making of the Crofting Community (Edinburgh, 1976).
- KAMM, J. How Different from Us: A Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale (London, 1958).
- KAMM, J. Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (London, 1965).
- KERR, J. Scottish Education (Cambridge UP, 1910).
- KNOWLES, K.G.J.C. Strikes (Oxford, 1952).
- KNOX, H.M. Two Hundred Years of Scottish Education (Edinburgh, 1953).
- KNOX, W.W. 'James Maxton' in W.W. Knox (ed.), op.cit., and in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), op.cit.
- LAURIE, S.S. Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray (Edinburgh, 1865).
- LAURIE, S.S. Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest on the Rural, Public Schools of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray (Edinburgh, 1890).
- LAURIE, S.S. General Report to the Governors of the Dick Bequest 1890-1904 (Edinburgh, 1904).
- LEWENHAK, S. Women and Trade Unions (Ernest Benn, 1977).
- LIDDINGTON, J. & NORRIS, J. One Hand Tied Behind Us (Virago Press, 1978).
- LLEWELLYN DAVIS, M. Life As We Have Known it, Co-operative Working Women (first published by Hogarth Press, 1931; reprinted Virago 1977).
- LOCKWOOD, D. The Blackcoated Worker (London, 1958).

- MACKENZIE, D. Statistics in Britain 1865-1930: The Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge (Edinburgh, 1981), p.18.
- MACKINTOSH, M.M. 'Domestic Labour and the Household' in S. Burman (ed.), op.cit., pp.192-96.
- MACLAREN, A. Religion and Social Class: The disruptive years in Aberdeen (1974).
- MAGNUS, L. The Jubilee Book of the Girls Public Day School Trust, 1873-1923 (1923).
- MARTINDALE, H. Women Servants of the State - 1870-1938: A History of Women in the Civil Service (London, 1938).
- MASON, J. History of Scottish Rural Experiments in Rural Education (London, 1935).
- MCCBRIDE, T. The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service (New York, 1976).
- MCCLEAY, C.F. The Maternity and Child Welfare Movement (London, 1935).
- MCGREGOR, O.R. Divorce in England: A Centenary Study (Morrison & Gibb Ltd., 1957).
- MCLAREN, E.T. Recollections of the Public Work and Home Life of Louisa and Flora Stevenson NLS, 1181, E.36.
- MELLING, J. Rent Strikes and Working Class Politics: Housing Struggles and the Origins of Independent Labour in West Scotland 1890-1916 (forthcoming publication, Polygon Books, Edinburgh 1985).
- MENZIES, A. Report of the Dick Bequest (Edinburgh 1954).
- MILL, J.S. The Subjection of Women (first printed 1869; reprinted Oxford 1966).
- MILLAR, E. Century of Change 1875-1975: One Hundred Years of Training Home Economic Students in Glasgow (Glasgow, 1975), pp.1-6.

- MILLET, K. Sexual Politics (Virago, 1979).
- MILTON, N. John Maclean (Pluto Press, 1973).
- MITCHELL, H. The Hard Way Up (London, 1968).
- MITCHELL, J. Women's Estate (New York, Random House, 1973).
- MITCHELL, B.R. & DEANE, P. Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962).
- MITCHELL, J. & OAKLEY, A. (eds.) The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Penguin, 1976), intro., pp.7-17.
- MITCHISON, R. British Population Change Since 1860 (Studies in Economic & Social History, Macmillan Series 1977), p.50.
- MINGAY, G.E. (ed.) Law, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1967).
- MORE, C. Skill and the English Working Class 1870-1914 (London, 1980).
- MORGAN, A. Makers of Scottish Education (Longman & Greens, 1929).
- MORGAN, D. Suffragists and Liberals: The Politics of Women's Suffrage in Britain (Oxford, 1975).
- MUSSON, A.E. British Trade Unions 1800-1875 (Economic History Soc. Series, Macmillan, 1972).
- MYERS, J.D. 'Scottish Schoolmasters in the Nineteenth Century: Professionalism and Politics', in Humes and Paterson Op.cit., pp.75-92.
- NEALE, R.S. Working Class Women and Women's Suffrage in Class Ideology (London, 1972).
- NEFF, W. Victorian Working Women (London, 1966).
- OAKLEY, A. The Sociology of Housework (New York, Pantheon Books, 1973).
- OAKLEY, A. Women's Work: The Housewife Past and Present (New York, Pantheon Books, 1974).

- O'FAOLAIN, J. & MARTINES, L. Not in God's Image (London, 1973).
- O'DONOVAN, K. 'The Male Appendix in Legal Definitions of Women' in S. Burman (ed.), op.cit., pp.112-34.
- OSBOURNE, G.S. Scottish and English Schools: A Comparative Study of the Past Fifty Years (London, 1966).
- OWEN, R.D. An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark (1824), reprinted in B. Simon (ed.), The Educational Tradition in Britain (1972).
- PANKHURST, S. The Suffragette Movement (London, 1931).
- PARSONS, T. Essays in Sociological Theory (New York, 1954), esp. 'The Professions and Social Structure'.
- PATERSON, H.M. 'Incubus and Ideology: The Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland, 1900-1939', in Humes and Paterson op.cit., pp.197-215.
- PELLING, H. A History of British Trade Unionism (Penguin 1963).
- PHELPS BROWN, E.H. The Growth of British Industrial Relations (London, 1959).
- PHELPS BROWN, E.H. & BROWNE, M. A Century of Pay (London, 1968).
- PINCHBECK, I. Women Workers in the Industrial Revolution: 1750-1850 (Frank Cass, 1969).
- POLLARD, M. The Teachers (Eastland Press, 1974).
- RAEBURN, R. Militant Suffragettes (London, 1973).
- RANKES, E. Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham (London, 1908).
- REEVES, M.P. Round About a Pound a Week (Virago Press, 1979), pp.94-175.
- RIDLEY, A.E. Frances Mary Buss (London, 1895).

- ROSE, J.W.F. Wages in Practice and Theory (London, 1928).
- ROWBOTHAM, R. Women, Resistance and Revolution (New York, Random House, 1974).
- ROWBOTHAM, R. Women's Consciousness, Man's World (Pelican Books, 1973).
- ROWBOTHAM, S. Hidden from History (Pluto Press, 1973).
- ROWBOTHAM, S. 'The Women's Movement and Organising for Socialism' in R. Rowbotham, L. Segal, and H. Wainwright (eds.), Beyond the Fragments (1979), Part II, p.50.
- ROXBURGH, J. The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919 (London, 1971).
- RUSK, R. The Training of Teachers in Scotland: An Historical Review (Edinburgh, 1928).
- SEARLE, G.R. Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914 (Leiden, 1976).
- SEARLE, G.R. The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought 1899-1914 (Oxford, 1971).
- SCOTLAND, J. The History of Scottish Education, Vols. 1 and 2 (1969).
- SEMML, B. Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social Imperialist Thought 1895-1914 (1960).
- SHAW, G.B. An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism (London, 1928).
- SHUTTLEWORTH, J.K. The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester 1832 (Manchester, 1832), p.64.
- SILLITOE, H. A History of the Teaching of Domestic Subjects (London, 1933), pp.80-91.

- SILVER, H. & P. The Education of the Poor (London, 1974).
- SKINNIDER, M. 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818-1918' in T.R. Bone, op.cit., pp.13-65.
- SLAVEN, A. Glasgow and the West Coast of Scotland 1750-1950 (1975).
- SMOUT, T.C. History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (London, 1969).
- STEIDMAN JONES, G. Outcast London (Oxford UP, 1971).
- STONE, L. The Family, Sex and Marriage, 1500-1800 (London, 1977).
- STOW, D. The Training System (Glasgow, McPhun, 1830).
- STRONG, J. History of Secondary Education in Scotland (Oxford UP, 1909).
- SUTHERLAND, G. Policy making in Elementary Education, 1870-1895 (1973).
- THOMPSON, D. The Early Chartists (London, 1971).
- TILLY, L. & SCOTT, J. Women, Work and Family (New York, 1978).
- TROPP, A. The School Teachers: The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales (London, 1957).
- TUKE, M.J. A History of Beaford College for Women 1849-1937 (London, 1939).
- VICIMUS, M. (ed.) Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age (Indiana UP, 1972).
- WALKOWITZ, J.R. Prostitution and Victorian Society, Women, Class and the State (Cambridge and New York, 1980).
- WARREN, E. Comfort on Small Incomes (London, 1966).

- WEBB, S. & B. History of Trade Unionism (London, 1894).
- WHITBREAD, N. The Evolution of the Nursery Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain 1800-1970 (London, 1972).
- WIDDOWSON, F. Going Up to the Next Class: Women and Elementary Teacher Training 1840-1914 (London, 1980).
- WIGHAM, E. Strikes and the Government 1893-1974 (London, 1976).
- WILSON, J. 'The Junior System' in T.R. Bone (ed.) op.cit., pp.191-237.
- WILSON, T. 'A Reinterpretation of "Payment by Results" in Scotland, 1861-1872' in Humes and Paterson, op.cit., pp.93-114.
- WOLPE, A.M. 'The Official Ideology of Education for Girls' in M. Flude and J. Atier (eds.) Educability, Schools and Ideology (1974), pp.138-59.
- YEO, S. Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976).
- YOXALL, A. A History of the Teaching of Domestic Economy (first published in Bath 1914, reprinted in London, 1965), pp.1-14.
- PAPERS
- ANDERSON, R. 'Complete and Austere Institutions: Scottish Secondary Schools in the late Nineteenth Century' (unpublished paper, University of Edinburgh, 1983).
- BIRD, L. Unpublished paper on 'Women in Education in Scotland' (Bristol, 1981).
- DAVIN, A. 'A Centre of Humanising Influence: the Schooling of Working Class Girls under the London School Board: 1870-1902' (unpublished paper presented to a conference on social policy in the University of Glasgow, May 1978).

- HAMILTON, D. 'On Simultaneous Instruction and the Early Evolution of Class Teaching' (unpublished paper, University of Glasgow, January 1981).
- MOORE, L.R. 'The Movement for the Higher Education of Women in Aberdeen up to 1883' (unpublished paper, n.d.)
- MOORE, L. 'Education for the Lasses' A Summary of Events in Aberdeen 1868-1898 (unpublished paper, September 1979).
- MORRIS, R.J. 'Skilled Workers and the Politics of the "Red" Clyde' (unpublished paper presented at the Irish Labour History Society Conference, September 1981).
- PATERSON, H. 'Godfrey Thompson and the Development of Psychometrics in Scotland 1925-1950' (unpublished paper, University of Glasgow, 1979), pp.1-13.
- STEVENSON, F. 'A Teachers' Benevolent Fund'; paper given at the Educational Congress of the EIS, 4 January 1894, p.96.
- TAYLOR, B. 'Women Workers and the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union' (unpublished paper, 1974).
- ZIMMECK, Meta 'Strategies and Stratagems for the Employment of Women in the Civil Service 1919-1939' (unpublished paper, April 1982).

INTERVIEWS

Constantine Dickson.

Agnes Morris.